SPIRITISM AND RELIGION

A MORAL STUDY

DISSERTATION

Submitted to the Faculty of the Sacred Sciences at the Catholic University of America in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the Doctorate in Theology

By the

Reverend Johan Liljencrants, A. M., J. C. B., S. T. L.

Of the Archdiocese of Baltimore

Catholic University of America

Washington, D. C., U. S. A.

MCMXVIII

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MCMXVIII

1918

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To Q. P., Whose Loyal Friendship Has
Been a Tower of Strength, We
Dedicate This Book
The Author

PREFACE.

As a normative science dealing with the morality of human acts, Moral Theology is constantly confronted with new problems brought up by the progress of civilization. New discoveries, new philosophies, new beliefs, new political and economic conditions and theories, all have their moral and theological aspects. It is, therefore, the function of Moral Theology to apply to every new phase of human activity, which has a moral bearing, the already established principles of morality, and to set forth such rules of conduct as may be applicable to this new phase in practical life.

In exercising this function Moral Theology draws upon principles which in their foundation, as based upon Divine Revelation, are unchangeable, and throughout the ages present an unvarying and supreme standard of morality. In the application of these principles, however, its verdict may undergo changes and modifications following those which take place in the issues themselves or in their relation to political, economic and social life and its development. Thus, for example, older Theologians would condemn the taking of interest as being usury, while modern Theologians, alive to the changes which have taken place in economic conditions, recognize the productive nature of capital and allow interest within just limits. Again, the progress of scientific discovery has brought many an issue into a new light. From the superstitious practices of astrology and alchemy, severely condemned by Theologians, emerged the sciences of astronomy and chemistry, the usefulness and lawfulness of which were immediately recognized.

We believe that a similar change is gradually taking place in the subject which concerns us in this treatise. Physical Research, which is rapidly gaining recognition

as a new branch of science, is gradually bringing a large portion of the Spiritistic phenomena, and the occult in general, into the realm of nature, divesting it—in its objective nature—of the attributes of a preternatural order with which it, until very recently, has been generally conceived. It is in an attempt to adjust the theological verdict on Spiritism to this new order of things that this book is written.

At present Physical Research is an emerging branch of science, and the results it has so far achieved are to a large extent necessarily vague and lacking definiteness and solidity. This has increased both the difficulty of our undertaking and the matter presented preliminary to the theological discussion of the subject. Whatever results we may have obtained we owe in large measure to the members of the Faculty of Sacred Theology of the Catholic University of America, under whose generous guidance this work has been prosecuted. Particularly do we wish to acknowledge our indebtedness to four members of this Faculty, the Reverend Doctors John W. Melody, John A. Ryan, Edmund T. Shanahan, and Patrick J. Healy.

The Catholic University of America.

Pentecost, 1918.

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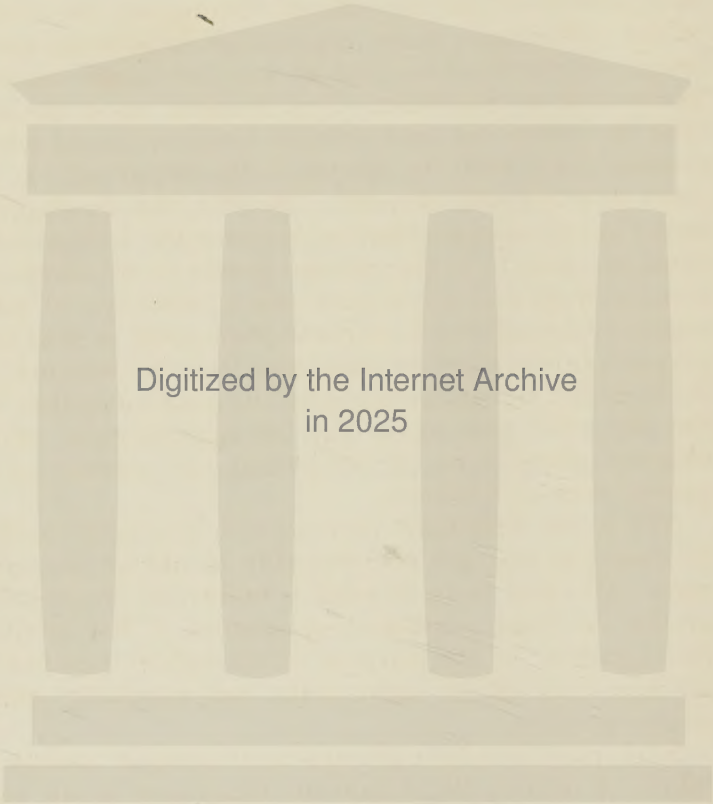

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INTRODUCTION

The year 1848 saw the birth of a popular and, at least in its subsequent development, a religious movement which for over half a century has made much noise, not only in the United States of America where its cradle stood, but also abroad, throughout the civilized world. Perhaps more commonly known under the name of Spiritualism, but at any rate more correctly under that of Spiritism,[1] it is founded upon the belief that the living can, and actually more or less at will do, communicate with the spirits of the departed. It presents a threefold element. Besides the fundamental belief in intercommunication between the living and the dead, we find in it the various practices by which such communication is attempted and a collection of partly vague religious creeds derived from what is held to be revelation contained in messages from the beyond. In its turn the fundamental belief in communication with the departed rests upon the interpretation of various obscure phenomena as indicating the agency of departed men and women.

While the Spiritistic movement is distinctly modern, its essential features are probably as old as the human race. We find them in what is known as Necromancy, or the—at least presumed—evocation of the spirits of the departed for the purpose of divination, practiced in all ages and rather universally, but especially among pagan peoples.

Such practices have always been common among the fakirs of India; the Chaldean magicians in all prob-

[1] Spiritualism rightly denotes a philosophical doctrine which holds, in general, that there is a spiritual order of beings no less real than the material, and, in particular, that the soul of man is a spiritual substance.—Edw. A. Pace *in Cath. Encyclop.* Art. "Spiritism."

For our choice of term we also find support in the French and German languages in which "Spiritisme" and "Spiritismus," respectively, are predominantly used, and also among certain English, American, and Italian writers.

ability introduced them among the ancient Egyptians, who brought them to a flourishing state; they exist in China since time immemorial and constituted an important element in the religious ideas of ancient Persia. In classical Greece the oracles were being constantly invoked and necromancers could be consulted in many favored places. Even Socrates and Aristotle indulged in conversations with spirits.[1] Nor was Necromancy unknown among the Romans, as may be gathered from the works of Cicero, Pliny the Elder, Horace, Lucan and others.[2]

The Old Testament shows that the Hebrews were acquainted with similar practices.[3] Thus, to give but one example, Saul conversed with the spirit of Samuel evoked by a certain woman of Endor who was endowed with a divining spirit.[4] The frequency of their prohibition found in the Sacred Books and the severity with which these practices were punished, would show that they were by no means uncommon.[5]

In the first Christian centuries Necromancy was extensively practiced by the pagans in the Roman Empire.[6] But with the spread of Christianity, in which it met a relentless enemy, it gradually lost its strict significance and became identified with witchcraft and other forms of magic in which for the most part evil spirits were given the place of the souls departed.

It is interesting to note that some of the most prominent features of modern Spiritism are found in the

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[1] Arist., "*de Mirab,*" 160.

[2] Cicero, "*Tusculane,*" i:16, 37; "*de Divinatione,*" i:58, 132; Pliny the E., "*Hist.,*" xxx:6; Horace, "*Satira,*" vii; "*Epod.,*" iii, xii, xvii; Lucan, "*Pharsalia,*" lib. vi.

[3] IV Kings, xvii:17, xxi:6, xxiii:24; II Paralip, xxxiii:6; Isaia, viii:19, xix:3, xxix:4.

[4] I Kings, xxv, iii:7-20; cfr. Eccl-us, xlvi:23, and Div. Thom. Aquin. *Summa Theol.* 2.2æ q. xcv., a. iv., ad 2.

[5] Levit. xix:31, xx:6; Deut. xviii:11, 12; Levit. xx:27; I Kings, xxviii:9.

[6] Tertull., "*Apolog.,*" xiii, xxii; "*de Anim.,*" lvi, lvii; Minucii Felic. "*Octav.,*" xxvii, xxviii; Lactant., "*Dio Instit.,*" iv:27; Hilarii *in Ps. 94;* Euseb., "*Hist. Eccl.,*" viii:14.

ancient practices of Necromancy. Communication with the spirits was frequently undertaken through the medium of a person thought to possess special faculties for such intercourse, and spirit-communications were often received by these intermediaries while in somnambulistic sleep. The priestess in the tower of Belos in Babylonia obtained her information while in a trance,[1] and in the temple of Serapis at Canopus in Egypt great worship was performed; many miraculous works were wrought, which the most eminent men believed, while others devoted themselves to the sacred sleep.[2] The consecrated temple at Alexandria had similar fame, and old Egyptian paintings show figures of priests making "magnetic passes" and entering into the somnambulistic state. Zoroaster entered by trance into the heavenly world and the Phytias were entranced before receiving inspiration from Apollo. We recognize some of the so-called physical phenomena of modern Spiritism, such as "levitation" and "elongation," among the miracles of Indian fakirs both of old and of to-day.[3]

The belief in ghosts making their presence known by auditory or visual manifestations is ancient. So also the belief that various mysterious physical disturbances observed from time to time, such as flinging of objects, upsetting of furniture, ringing of bells and producing sundry noises, are to be ascribed to spirit-agencies. Many of these disturbances bear a striking resemblance to certain phenomena occurring in the modern seance-room.

In 1661 the presence of a drum taken from a vagrant drummer by Squire Mompesson of Tedworth in Wiltshire gave all indications of being the cause of mysterious bangings on the Squire's doors, levitation of his children, rappings, moving of furniture and the appear-

[1] Herodotus, *Hist.*, lib. i, 180-183.
[2] Strabo, *Geogr.*, lib. xvii, c. i, § 17.
[3] Philostrat., *"Vita Apollon. Tyan."* lib. iii, c. 15, 17.

ing of "a great body with two red and glaring eyes."[1] In 1716 the home of the Reverend Samuel Wesley at Epworth was similarly haunted, the ghost apparently preferring the company of the children.[2] Lord Brougham in 1799 had an apparition of a former schoolmate on the night of his death and under rather peculiar circumstances.[3] Accounts of similar disturbances and apparitions could be multiplied at pleasure; hardly a single estate or castle in Europe lacks its peculiar ghost.

Occult phenomena, then, of various kinds and ascribed mostly to the agency of the departed, have been recorded in abundant quantity from all parts of the globe and all ages. But there is no logical or historical connection between these and the movement known as Modern Spiritism which arose in 1848. Yet, however sudden may have been the rise of Modern Spiritism, it can not be said to have sprung into being on unprepared soil, for its way had been broken by Swedenborgianism and Mesmerism, which may be said to have been its direct forerunners. We think a few words concerning these movements will not be amiss in this connection.

Mesmerism made its first appearance as a popular system of curing diseases. It was Mesmer's theory, as elaborated in his dissertation for the doctorate in medicine,[4] that the new force which he claimed to have discovered, and which he named "Animal Magnetism," consisted of a very subtle fluid capable of receiving and communicating all impressions of motion independently of distance or intermediary agents. This fluid he held

[1] Glanvill's *"Sadducismus Triumphatus,"* quoted by H. Addington Bruce *in "Historic Ghosts and Ghost Hunters,"* p. 28.

[2] Bruce, Op. cit., pp. 36-55.

[3] Ibid., pp. 102-119.

[4] *"De l'influence des Planettes sur le corps humain."* Vicuna 1766.

to be a medium of mutual influence between bodies celestial, the earth and human beings, manifested particularly in human bodies.

Mesmer's *"baquet"* rapidly became popular, a movement emerged and spread, and its adherents organized themselves into "Societies of Harmony." At the same time a considerable literature on the subject made its appearance. The number of mesmeric practitioners, or magnetizers, grew, and in the course of time the rather crude methods to which Mesmer's earlier patients had been subjected gradually were abandoned and "magnetic passes" became the customary form of treatment. In this manner the magnetizer would induce his clients into somnambulistic sleep, in which state they often were able to diagnose their own diseases as well as those of others and to prescribe remedies.

It was left to Alexandre Bertrand and to Braid to find a more natural explanation for the "magnetic phenomena" and to lay the foundation for what now is known under the name of Hypnotism. In the meantime the popular side of the movement had a rapid growth and development. An ever-increasing army of professional magnetizers and clairvoyants secured a steady stream of converts, the Societies of Harmony were extended and the literature on the subject took volume. Gradually a new interpretation of the phenomena was adopted, associating them with occult and mysterious operations of spirits.

No doubt Swedenborgianism contributed in no small degree to this development. Ever since 1745, when Swedenborg had his first vision in which our Lord, so he believed, initiated him into the spiritual sense of Holy Scripture, his trance communications with the other world had attracted much attention. Stockholm became the center of fashionable spirit-seances, and the new theory of communication between the living and the dead was readily received by the members of the

Society of Harmony in that capital. In a short time Sweden was overrun by mediums delivering messages from the departed. Thence the new movement spread through the European continent, where it was taken up by the mesmerists. In the early part of the nineteenth century seances with table-turning and spirit communications were being held everywhere.

Science did not fail to give a garb to the new movement. A school of spiritistic cosmology was founded by Professor J. H. Jung-Stilling, according to which there exists in man, besides his body and immortal soul, a luminous body inseparable from the soul and made of ether. In the trance-state, in which the soul is partly divested of the material body, it is able to act more freely and is capable of perception independently of the sense organs. The ether which fills space is the abode of spirits, while the atmosphere of the earth harbors the fallen angels and lost human souls.[1]

Perhaps the most remarkable medium of the mesmeristic period was Frederica Hauffe, the "Seeress of Provost," who began her early career with prophetic and revelatory dreams to which soon were added physical phenomena. These latter were particularly developed in the home of the famous physician Julius Kerner, whom she visited for medical treatment a year before her death, which occurred in 1827. Kerner became convinced of the reality of her spirit intercourse, and shortly after her death published an account of her trances and trance-revelations.[2]

Before the middle of the eighteenth century Mesmerism was largely practiced in North America. Here also it mingled with Swedenborgianism and underwent a development similar to that in Europe. Its most

[1] *"Theorie der Geister-Kunde."*

[2] *"Die Seherin von Provost, Eröffnungen über das Innere Leben und über das Hereinragen einer Geisterwelt in die Unsere."*—Stuttgart und Tübingen, 4 Ausg. 1846.

interesting character, perhaps, was Andrew Jackson Davis, alias the "Poughkeepsie Seer," who in 1845 gave trance lectures in New York, a Dr. Lyon of Bridgeport acting as his magnetizer, and these were published under the title *"The Principles of Nature, Her Divine Revelation, and a Voice to Mankind."* On the whole the work is a jumble of the philosophical doctrines then current, including a due portion of evolutionism and pantheism. The "Univercoelum" or "Spiritual Philosopher," a periodical devoted to the exposition of Davis' opinions and revelations, made its first appearance in 1847. His complete works, including the *"Great Harmonia,"* are published in 26 volumes.[1]

Popular Mesmerism of this kind was in full development when Spiritism made its entrance into the world. The new movement was quickly adopted by the adherents of the older whose creeds, philosophy and prophets it made its own. This fact, and the extension which the superseded movement had reached, alone can account for the rapidity of growth enjoyed by Spiritism from the very outset.

Of late much serious and fruitful work has been done along the lines of Psychical Research, and treatises of high scientific merit have been published in which the phenomena of Spiritism are closely scrutinized and analyzed and theories advanced for their explanation. This labor belongs to the realm of psychology and physics, and theology finds no place here any more than it does in biology. No matter how painstaking has been this research, no matter how capable and untiring its leaders, so far as positive conclusions regarding the nature of the phenomena are concerned very little has as yet been established. It is to be hoped that in time

[1] James Burns, London.

Psychical Research will succeed in solving the riddle; at present we shall have to abide in its realm by the results it so far has reached.

In the meantime Spiritism has broadly been voicing its claims in no uncertain manner, and we need but pick at random among popular books, magazines and newspapers to receive a notion of the great popularity enjoyed by the New Revelation it proclaims to be giving to the world. To Spiritists the reality of intercourse with the souls of the departed is a fact beyond dispute. Upon this conviction they base their firm belief in the validity of the Revelation from the beyond—obtained through mediums—as being, if not an entirely new Religion, at least a new Gospel superseding that of traditional Christianity. It is professedly a Religion of the laity as opposed to sacerdotalism and spiritual authority, and as such it is antagonistic to traditional Christianity.

"The Church," says one exponent,[1] "seems to ignore the ability of the laity. It has not reckoned with the force of an advancing tide of criticism—criticism born of the Church's own supine stupidity, its belief in its own supremacy over the minds and souls of mankind, its blind adherence to proved errors, its long and tacit acceptance of unprovable facts, its aggressive attitude toward Science." "In this indictment of the Church lie the reasons for its opposition to spiritualism. The Church resents the experiments of those engaged in psychic research to establish by scientific means that life after death is an absolute fact, that we of this world have the power to know what the 'dead' are doing, thinking, saying."

It is in its popular, religious form that Spiritism challenges Christianity, and in this aspect the new move-

[1] See *The Bookman*, Jan. 1918, p. 516.

ment certainly falls within the legitimate field of theological discussion. Would it seem, perhaps, that in order to arrive at its decision theology would have to depend upon the verdict of Psychical Research as to the real nature of the messages by which the *soi-disante* Revelation is conveyed? If the verdict were to be had, if this nature could be scientifically demonstrated, the theological problem would be much simplified. As matters now stand the results at hand will not fail to be of great assistance.

But theology is not seeking new proofs of immortality—it already possesses proofs to that fact of a nature infinitely stronger than could ever be produced by a poor, weak, entranced spirit-medium. Nor does it absolutely deny the possibility of intercourse with the departed. Let these two things be proven according to the rules of profane science, and theology need not open its mouth. But when a new Revelation or a new Religion emerges it is time for theology to step in—in its rightful province—and to pronounce its verdict in the name of Christianity which its represents.

It is the theological side of the inquiry into Spiritism that we shall pursue in this treatise. In general we shall endeavor to estimate the value of Spiritism as a Religion; in particular to show that its doctrines cannot be accepted as offering an amplification and elucidation of the Gospel of Christ, but that, on the contrary, Spiritism is essentially anti-Christian.

From a short survey of the Spiritistic movement and of its main phenomena we shall pass to a discussion of already advanced explanatory theories, and having drawn our conclusions from such study we shall deal with the religious aspect in itself as well as in the light of theology.

CHAPTER I.

History of Modern Spiritism.

In December, 1847, John D. Fox, a Methodist farmer, with his wife Margarete and his two youngest daughters, Margaretta and Katie, moved into a small wooden house in the village of Hydesville, Wayne County, New York. David Fox, a married son, lived two miles from Hydesville, and a married daughter, Mrs. Fish (later successively Mrs. Brown and Mrs. Underhill), lived in Rochester, New York.

The house in question was known to have been the scene of mysterious disturbances before the advent of the Fox family, and from the time of their arrival strange noises were heard, which gradually increased, and in February the following year became distinct and continuous enough to disturb the sleep of the tenants. On Friday evening, March 31st, 1848, the family had retired early. Presently the usual noises commenced, and at length Katie, being then twelve years old, merrily snapped her fingers and called out: "Here, Mr. Splitfoot, do as I do!" Instantly the invisible rapper responded by imitating the number of her movements. Motions made by her noiselessly were repeated by knocks, and when discovering this she cried out: "Only look, Mother, it can see as well as hear!"[1]

Mrs. Fox now began to question the rapper regarding the age of her children, and correct answers were given by means of knockings. Neighbors were summoned and the investigation was continued till late in the night.

A system of answering was invented by one of those present, by which questions were answered by knockings

[1] Britten, *"Modern American Spiritualism,"* p. 32.

if in the affirmative, by silence if in the negative. By this method it was learned that the mysterious rapper had been murdered in the house, and after a search human remains were found under the floor of the cellar. Later a neighbor suggested an alphabet-system, and by this means the name of the victim of murder, Charles Rosna,[1] was revealed, together with other information.[2]

Thus began the movement of Modern Spiritism, which from its origin in the Fox family spread like wild fire throughout the North American Continent.

Shortly after the time of the incidents related Margaretta went to Mrs. Fish in Rochester and Katie visited at Auburn. In both places the phenomena were repeated. Mrs. Fish and many persons in Rochester and Auburn became mediums, and in the course of the next two or three years the rappings had spread throughout the greater part of the Eastern States.[3] In 1851 there were estimated to be a hundred mediums in New York[4] and fifty to sixty private circles in Philadelphia. Both Mrs. Fox and her daughters became professional mediums, practicing for money.

In December, 1850, the Fox girls held public seances in Buffalo, New York. There they came under the observation of Drs. Flint, Lee and Coventry, who the following year wrote a joint letter in which they declared the phenomena to be produced by "cracking" of the knee-joints,[5] and a few months later the girls made a confession in which they admitted that the sounds were produced with the knees and the toes and that they had imparted their art to other girls.[6] In 1888 this confession was confirmed and practically demonstrated by

[1] Ibid., p. 39.
[2] Ibid., pp. 29-39; and Podmore, *"Modern Spiritualism,"* vol. I, pp. 179 et seq.
[3] *"Spiritual Philosopher,"* vol. I, p. 99.
[4] Ibid., vol. III, p. 151.
[5] Podmore, *"Modern Spiritualism,"* vol. I, p. 184.
[6] Ibid., pp. 185-186.

Margaretta and Katie, then Mrs. Kane and Mrs. Jencken, respectively.[1] The exposures and confession of 1851, however, did not check the movement.

In the meantime another set of phenomena had occurred in the home of the Reverend Dr. Phelps, a Presbyterian Minister living with his wife and four children in Stratford, Connecticut. In March, 1850, a series of disturbances, renewed at intervals for about eighteen months, broke out in his house; windows were broken by invisible hands, mysterious writing was produced and raps were heard by which often blasphemous answers were given to questions. On one occasion the older boy, being eleven years of age, was carried across the room; another time the heavy dining-room table was lifted from the floor. Letters containing mischievous and childish satires on Phelps' brother-clergymen were thrown from above, and one day the boy was found hanged on a tree. Many other mysterious phenomena occurred, and the whole affair created considerable sensation. Andrew Jackson Davis, then of fame, came to Stratford and certified that the disturbances were caused by vital electricity discharged from the elder boy's organism, whereas others sought an explanation in the agency of spirits.[2]

At the very outset Spiritism found an ally in the already widespread movement of Mesmerism. A large number of professional clairvoyants included in their performances "spirit-rappings," Mesmerism furnished a popular philosophy to the whole matter, and those who had adopted the spiritistic interpretation of the mesmeric phenomena eagerly included the rappings among the manifestations of spirits.

[1] Ibid., p. 188.
[2] Podmore, *"Modern Spiritualism,"* vol. I, pp. 194-201.

Numerous mesmeristic publications took up the new movement thus insuring its spead; writers of note, such as Laroy and Sunderland—editor of the "Spirit World"—became converted to the new belief, which also was adopted by many of the Socialistic communities flourishing in the middle of the nineteenth century.

Among prominent converts in the early days may be mentioned Horace Greeley and Henry James, the Abolitionist W. Lloyd Garrison, the Universalist Minister and Social Reformer John Murray Spear, John W. Edmunds, Judge of the Supreme Court and former Governor of New York, the Hon. N. P. Tallmadge, Governor of Wisconsin, and a number of Ministers and Social Reformers. The ranks of the movement were largely recruited by those who had lost sight of all Christian tradition—among these Professor Robert Hare—while the most active propagandists were furnished by the liberal Protestant sects. In 1854 some 1,300 persons signed a petition requesting Congress to investigate the matter, but no action was taken.

The cult of Spiritism spread to Europe in 1852, beginning with Scotland.[1] In that year a veritable epidemic of table-turning swept the European Continent, spiritistic mediums appearing everywhere busily engaged in delivering "rap-messages" from the departed. It reached England in 1853, where some American mediums—among whom Mrs. Roberts and Mrs. Hayden—had arrived and advertised their professional services. It gained many disciples in the Scandinavian countries and Russia, where the way had been paved by the Swedenborgian movement and occult practices in vogue among the Mongols. At the same time it was imported into Germany and France, in which latter country the first experiments were made simultaneously

[1] Lapponi, *"Ipnotismo e Spiritismo,"* p. 52.

in Paris, Strassbourg, Marseilles, Toulon and Bordeaux in April, 1853. Five years later it had reached Italy.

Spiritism caused great excitement and much discussion both in America and in Europe. To the original phenomena new and more startling ones were rapidly added. The early seances usually took place in a darkened room, more rarely in full light, those present seating themselves round a table holding their fingers on the edge thereof in a manner as to form a chain, the thumbs of each person touching each other and each little finger communicating with the little finger of the persons on either side, the medium completing the chain. After a few moments the table would begin to move, indicating that the spirits were present and prepared for further demonstrations.

However, this introduction was not always necessary. The arrival of the spirits would often be heralded by rappings, which were largely utilized for a means of communication as described in connection with the original manifestations in the Fox family. Various movements, sometimes violent, of furniture and other objects would then follow, bells placed under the table would be rung, musical instruments in the room played, lights would issue from the heads of the sitters and spirit-hands clasp their hands and feet.

During a seance held by Mr. Koons the spirits produced a grand concert, "the fiddle, drums, guitar, banjo, accordion, French harp, the horn, tea bell, triangle, etc., playing their parts." [1] Spirit-hands would make their appearance, darting about the room and even utilizing the paper and pencil placed on the seance-table for the purpose of writing messages which they signed. Certain spirits would address the audience, speaking through a horn or a trumpet.

[1] Podmore, "*Modern Spiritualism*," vol. I, p. 248.

Spirit-writing was a common occurrence, messages usually being written on paper placed under the seance-table or sometimes in sight of the sitters, or on closed slates and even on the bare arm and forehead of individuals. In Mr. Koons' seance-room a band of sixty-five spirits, being pre-Adamite men, revealed themselves under the generic name of King, and these gentlemen were lineal ancestors to the famous spirits John King and his sister Katie, who have been the joy and consolation of two generations of Spiritists throughout the world.[1] Add to these phenomena apparitions of "materialized" spirit-forms, "levitation" from the floor of the medium, "apport" of small objects into closed rooms, and handling of burning substances with impunity. Apparitions of the dead known to the audience belong to the less frequent phenomena of the early stages.

But not only did phenomena of a mere physical nature occur at the early seances. Mrs. Draper of Rochester learned from the spirit of Benjamin Franklin the art of spirit-telegraphy. The messages would be conveyed between two mediums in different rooms, or even in different localities, one of whom stood in "rapport" with the communicating spirit, and at each station the intelligence would be communicated by means of knocks resembling the ticking of a telegraphic apparatus. There were also mediums who, prompted by a spirit, would "speak with tongues," often in a language of which they were ignorant. Apart from this dubious phenomenon coherent speaking and writing were produced under circumstances which made it evident that the human agent spoke and wrote through a power not his own. It occurred either in trance or in the waking state, automatic trance-speaking being most common.

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[1] Podmore, *"Modern Spiritualism,"* vol. I, p. 248.

One of the earliest accounts of automatic writing was published in 1852 in *"The Pilgrimage of Thomas Paine and others to the Seventh Circle by Rev. C. Hammond, Medium,"* and the best inspirational writing of the time is to be found in *"The Healing of the Nation"* by Charles Linton.[1] John Murray Spear in 1853 had committed to writing revelations received from the spirit-world concerning Ethical, Social, Biological and Cosmological truths.[2] T. L. Harris while in trance dictated a poem of three to four thousand words entitled "An Epic of the Starry Heaven," composed by Dante and other mediæval spirits. There was also automatic playing of music, dancing, crowing and so forth, and numerous cases of healing mediums.

The Foxes continued their mediumship for a long time, while a multitude of minor mediums developed, chiefly in America. Tallmadge became a medium of note, but the most famous of the early performers was Mr. Daniel Dunglas Home (Hume). Born near Edinburgh in 1833 he came with his aunt to America at the age of twelve. In 1850, having heard of the Hydesville "rappings," he was seized by the rapidly growing movement and went to New York, where he began to hold seances before people of prominence. In 1855 Home went to England, where he had the fortune to be allowed to perform before members of the highest society, thence to the Continent. He held sittings in the Tuileries, before the Czar, and in the presence of many distinguished members of the European nobility. Having married a rich and noble Russian lady he returned to England in 1859, where between frequent trips to the Continent he continued to give seances. In the beginning of the seventies he gradually gave up his

[1] New York, 1885.
[2] Published by H. E. Newton as vol. I of the *Educator*.

mediumship, and after a long illness he died in 1886. During a visit to Rome in 1856 Home had been received into the Catholic Church.

Home believed himself a teacher of the truth of immortality and when entranced frequently delivered discourses on religious subjects. He would also deliver messages from dead friends of members of his circle showing an intimate knowledge of the past of the persons addressed. His physical phenomena consisted in raps, movements of objects, shaking of the seance-room, playing of musical instruments, production of spirit-hands and spirit-lights, levitation and elongation of himself, speaking with spirit-voice, handling of burning substances, and various performances common to the mediums of the time. He has the unique distinction among professional physical mediums never to have been exposed as an impostor.[1]

Other famous mediums were Mrs. Hayden and Mrs. Roberts, whom we have mentioned in connection with the first appearance of Spiritism in England, Mr. Robert Owen, whose writings contained messages from the dead encouraging his theories, P. B. Randolph, the Reverend T. L. Harris and the English medium Mrs. Marshall, all physical mediums. Psychical mediumship stood on the increase. In some of the professional mediums the two forms were common, but for the most part the psychic mediums excluded physical phenomena with the exception of table-tilting from their seances. Writing and speaking mediums sprang up in almost every private circle, and by their hand or lips an impressive collection of famous departed made themselves known to mankind.

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[1] Podmore, *"Modern Spiritualism,"* vol. I, pp. 223 et seq.; Idem, *"Studies, etc.,"* pp. 52-53.

The second decade of the movement shows a considerable increase of physical mediumship while the psychical was pushed more in the background. "Materialization" now became more common in America. In 1860 Robert D. Owen held sittings with the Underhill family[1] at which a veiled and luminous female figure presented itself and walked about the room. Mr. Livermore had sittings with Katie Fox at which the spirit of his wife and later that of Benjamin Franklin appeared. Similar phenomena were repeated by other mediums.

In the seventies this phenomenon began to be produced in England, the first really successful medium being Miss Florence Cook, who used a cabinet from which the materialized spirits emerged, the most famous of whom were John King and Katie, whose acquaintance we have already made. She was detected in fraud in 1873 by Mr. Volksman, who seized the "spirit"—being the young lady herself.[2] During the period 1872-1880 a large number of mediums appeared in this form of manifestation, but there were also numerous exposures of fraud, indignantly resented by the Spiritists.[3]

Spirit-photography made its first appearance in Boston in 1862, when Dr. Gardner of that city announced that a photographer named Mumler had taken photographs of him on which there also was found the likeness of his cousin who had been dead for twelve years. Mumler soon received many clients, but at length Gardner discovered fraud in the process, and his exposures stopped the trade for some time. It reappeared in 1869 in New York, and the municipal authorities instituted a prosecution, but Mumler was discharged

[1] Margaretta Fox.

[2] *Medium and Daybreak*, Jan. 23, 1874.

[3] Mr. Leymarie, "*Procès des Spirites*," p. 45; *Medium*, Aug. 14, 1874; *Newcastle Daily Chronicle*, Aug. 21, 1874, and *Medium* of the same date; *Spiritualist*, Aug. 28, 1874; *Medium*, Jan. 15, 1875; *Spiritualist*, May 3 and 17, and June 7, 1878.

for lack of evidence.[1] In 1872 it came to England, Mr. Hudson being able with the aid of Mrs. Guppy and other mediums to take spirit-photographs, but fraud was soon ascertained.[2] In 1874 a Parisian photographer, Buguet, arrived in London and produced highly artistic spirit-photographs. He was arrested by the French Government two years later on the charge of fraudulent manufacture of spirit-photographs and made a full confession.[3] A fourth professional spirit-photographer presented himself in Mr. Parks.[4]

Among physical mediums in the sixties we also note Squire, Redman, Foster, Colchester, Conklin and the Davenport brothers. These latter produced their phenomena from a wardrobe-like cabinet in which they were sitting hands and feet tied.

From the very outset the spiritistic phenomena had caused considerable speculation regarding their origin and the manner in which spirit-communication was effected. The theories generally adopted in the early stages in America and to a certain extent on the European Continent borrowed much from Mesmerism and Swedenborgianism, and usually agreed upon the existence in man of an astral substance of a nature between matter and spirit, which, if detached from the material body, offered a means of communication with spirits. Mediumship, therefore, consisted in the ability of a person easily to detach from his body this astral substance. It would be to no purpose here to set forth the many wild theories of this period regarding the life of the soul, especially after death, and the constitution

[1] *Spiritual Magazine*, 1862, p. 562; 1863, pp. 36, 82, 128, 182; 1869, pp. 226, 241; *Proceedings, S. P. R.*, vii:270 et seq.

[2] *Spiritualist*, July 1872; *Proceedings, S. P. R.*, vii:271.

[3] Podmore, "*Modern Spiritualism*," vol. II, p. 121.

[4] For an account of the four Spirit-Photographers see Mrs. H. Sidgwick *in Proceedings, S. P. R.*, vii:270 et seq.

of the spirit-world in general; be it enough to say that they were marked by astounding ignorance of natural sciences and an amazing lack of logic.

In Europe, however, there was a strong tendency to change the crude views of the early American Spiritists in a manner to bring the phenomena in analogy with already known phenomena of science. Most French and ultimately most continental Spiritists followed the doctrine of Allan Kardec—formerly M. Rivail. Having been an ardent advocate of Phrenology and Animal Magnetism Kardec became converted to Spiritism in 1862 and received through various clairvoyants a full exposition of a new Gospel, the leading truth in which was the doctrine of Reincarnation as set forth in a series of works [1] based on these revelations. However, not all those who believed in the phenomena were disciples of Kardec. Count Agénor de Gasparin explained them as being caused by some magnetic or physical force inherent in the sitters, and his friend Thury sought their origin in a new mode of energy.

Among German thinkers neither the doctrines nor the phenomena of Spiritism gained such ready acceptance as in France. In 1861 Maximilian Perty, Doctor of Philosophy of the University of Berne, ascribed the physical phenomena to some occult power in the medium's organism, at the same time accounting for the mental phenomena by planetary spirits. Similar views were advocated by other Continental writers.

Up to 1870 America had furnished almost all professional physical mediums. But in the seventies some English physical mediums made their début, notably F. Herne and Charles Williams, Miss Florence Cook, Monck, Rita, Miss Wood, Miss Fairlamb—later Mrs.

[1] "*Le Livre des Esprits*," "*L'Evangile selon le Spiritisme*," and others.

Mellon, Miss Stokes, Mr. Eglinton to whom we shall return later, and, above all, the Reverend Stainton-Moses.

William Stainton-Moses, known under the pseudonym "M. A. (Oxon)," was born in Lincolnshire in 1839 and received his later education at Oxford. During his student years he suffered from weak health and was known often to walk in his sleep, and finally, his health having broken down, he was obliged for some time to interrupt his studies at Oxford. Seeking recreation in travel he came to Mount Athos, where he stayed for some time studying mysticism and monastic life. After his graduation from Oxford he was ordained by Bishop Wilberforce of the Church of England and accepted a curacy on the Isle of Man. In 1871 he came as Master to the University College School, in which position he remained till three years before his death.

In 1872 Mr. Moses found himself possessed of mediumistic ability and began to hold seances, mostly in the presence of Dr. and Mrs. Stanhope Spear, at which the usual physical phenomena occurred, and he gave very remarkable demonstrations especially of levitation of himself. A year later he began to produce automatic script.

Among the more extraordinary features of his seances are numerous apparitions of what he considered to be spirits, which apparitions fall into three groups: first, a group of persons recently deceased, often presenting themselves before their death was publicly known, and frequently giving satisfactory identification; secondly, a group of spirits belonging to more remote generations, and, thirdly, spirits giving such names as Rector, Doctor, Theophiles and, above all, Imperator. These from time to time would reveal the names which according to their assertion were theirs in life-time, proving themselves to be far more illustrious and ancient than the spirits of the second group.

Mr. Moses aided in the founding of the Society for Psychical Research in 1882, but soon withdrew on account of what he considered its unduly critical attitude towards the spiritistic view and reverted to "Spiritism as a Religion." During the last years of his life he edited the weekly *Light*. He died on the fifth of September, 1892.[1]

We quote the following from an article by Frederic Myers, who had made Moses' acquaintance in 1874 and soon became his devoted friend:[2]

"The experiences which Stainton-Moses had undergone had changed his views but not his character. He was already set in the mould of the hardworking, conscientious, dogmatic clergyman, with a strong desire to do good, and a strong belief in preaching as the best way to do it. For himself the essential part of what I have called his 'message' lay in the actual words automatically uttered or written—not in the accompanying phenomena which really gave their uniqueness and importance to the automatic processes now so familiar. In a book called *Spirit Teachings* he collected what he regarded as the real fruits of those years of mysterious listening in the vestibule of a world unknown.

"Stainton-Moses was ill-fitted for this patient, uphill toil (of propagating his new faith). In the first place he lacked—and he readily and repeatedly admitted to me that he lacked—all vestige of scientific, or even of legal, instinct. The very words 'first hand evidence,' 'contemporary record,' 'corroborative testimony,' were to him as a weariness to the flesh. His attitude was that of the preacher, who is already so thoroughly persuaded

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[1] See: Frederic W. H. Myers *in Proceedings, S. P. R.*, ix:245 et seq., xi:24 et seq.; Podmore, "*Modern Spiritualism*," vol. II, pp. 78 et seq.; Idem, "*Studies, etc.*," pp. 62 et seq.; Moses' articles in *Human Nature*, 1874, pp. 47, 161 et seq.; and "*Psychography*," "*Spirit Identity*," etc., London, 1874; Posthumous papers *in Proceedings, S. P. R.*, vols. ix and xi.

[2] "William Stainton-Moses," by F. W. H. Myers *in Proceedings, S. P. R.*, viii:579-600.

in his own mind that he treats any alleged fact which falls in with his views as the uncriticized text for fresh exhortation."

Among American physical mediums of the period 1870-1880 should be mentioned Mrs. Holmes, Miss Eva Fay, Messrs. Bastian and Taylor, the Foxes, especially Kate (Jencken) and Slade.

"Dr." Henry Slade had gained considerable fame in America for his slate-writing productions. He would take an ordinary school-slate, put a small piece of pencil on it and hold it under the table. Presently the "spirit" would announce its presence by raps and then the writing would be heard by the sitters. Slade came to England in 1876 and there he was detected in trickery by Professor Ray Lankester, who snatched the slate from his hand from under the table before the "spirit" had announced its presence and found the message already on the slate, which had been prepared beforehand and exchanged under the table for the original slate. As a consequence Slade was prosecuted and forced to leave England.[1]

During the seances in the seventies, besides the usual physical phenomena there was slate writing, spirit "materialization" and spirit-photography. As a rule the sittings were held in the dark, and the performances were often accompanied by music. Several mediums, notably Mrs. Guppy, Mr. Herne, Miss Lottie Fowler and Mr. Henderson, exhibited "transportation," i. e., the medium would suddenly disappear from the seance-room, leaving a slight haze in the ceiling. Mr. Moncure Conway in 1875 exposed the trick on the part of the medium to free one hand, supposedly held by the sitters, and use it for performing the phenomena.[2]

[1] London *Times*, Sept. 16, 1876; Podmore, "*Modern Spiritualism*," vol. II, p. 89.

[2] Podmore, "*Modern Spiritualism*," vol. II, p. 80.

Prior to 1860 trance-communications and automatic speaking and writing had played a leading part in the seances at least in England, but after that year these manifestations became less important. Yet, in private circles there has been an abundance of automatic communication up to the present time. Both Home and Moses had trance-communications. The most noted professional psychic mediums during the period 1860-1880 were Miss Lottie Fowler, Mrs. Olive, Mr. Towns, Miss Hudson, Mr. and Mrs. Fletcher and Mme. Esperance. David Duguid, a cabinet maker by trade, became a Spiritist in 1865 and is famous for his pictures painted in trance no less than for the revelations he received, beginning with the year 1869, from the spirit of the Persian Prince Hafed.[1] Mrs. Emma Harding began her career as trance-speaking medium in 1865[2] and was followed by Mr. Morse in 1870. But the supreme example in this line was Cora L. V. Tappan (later Tappan Richmond). As a girl of twelve she was in Ballou's Community at Hopedale, and four years later she became famous as a Spiritist-lecturer in New York. She believed herself when in trance to speak under spirit guidance. In 1873 she came to England, where she received an enthusiastic welcome.[3]

At the beginning of the movement scientific men in general were inclined to look upon the phenomena with scorn, treating the whole thing as a matter of trickery unworthy of attention. But gradually this attitude was changed and scientists began to institute private investigation. In the autumn of 1853 Count Agénor de

[1] "*Hafed, Prince of Persia; His Experiences in Earth-Life and Spirit-Life; being Communications received through Mr. David Duguid, the Glasgow trance-painting Medium. Illustrated.*" London, James Burns.

[2] See her "*Extemporaneous Addresses.*" London, 1865.

[3] See "*Discourses through the Mediumship of Cora L. V. Tappan,*" London, 1875.

Gasparin[1] carried on a series of experiments endeavoring to prove that the phenomena were not to be attributed to the agency of the departed, but rather to some force in the human organism which stood under the control of the will. He was assisted by M. Thury, Professor at the Academy of Geneva, and the results of the investigations were published in de Gasparin's *"Des Tables Tournantes, du Surnaturel en général et des Esprits."*[2]

Dr. Robert Hare, Professor Emeritus of Chemistry at the University of Pennsylvania, conducted experiments with various mediums, an account of which was published in 1855.[3] In 1869 the London Dialectical Society appointed a committee, including many prominent medical men and jurists,[4] to investigate the subject. A report including experiments with D. D. Home and other mediums was published in 1871.[5] The most important evidence for the operation of a new force is given by Sir William Crookes, the great Chemist and Physicist who in the years 1870-1873 conducted experiments with D. D. Home, Miss Cook and others.[6]

The Psychological Society was founded in London in 1875 under the presidency of Sergeant Cox for the promotion of Psychological science in all its branches, the main subject of investigation being the physical phenomena of Spiritism.[7] The following year Professor W. F. Barrett read a paper before the British Association, at Glasgow, on "Some Phenomena Associated with Abnormal Conditions of Mind."[8] In 1877-1878

[1] Podmore, *"Studies, etc.,"* pp. 43-44.

[2] Geneva, 1855.

[3] *"Experimental Investigations, etc.,"* New York, 1855. See Podmore, *"Studies, etc.,"* pp. 47-49.

[4] The most notable were: A. R. Wallace, Sergeant Cox, Chas. Bradlaugh, H. G. Atkinson, and Dr. James Edmunds.

[5] *"Report of Spiritualism by the Committee of the London Dialectical Society,"* London, 1871.

[6] *"Researches in the Phenomena of Spiritualism,"* London, 1875.

[7] Podmore, *"Studies, etc.,"* p. 14.

[8] Podmore, *"Studies, etc.,* p. 14.

Professor Johann Zöllner of Leipzig, assisted by colleagues, held sittings with Slade. But much credit can not be given to his investigation when we bear in mind Slade's bad reputation of being merely a skilled prestidigitator. Frank Podmore seeks further to lessen this credit on the ground that Zöllner was obsessed with the idea of the fourth dimension, evidence for which theory he found in Slade's phenomena,[1] but in all justice we think it must be said that this theory was rather suggested to Zöllner by the phenomena he had witnessed during his investigation.[2]

Finally in 1882 the Society for Psychical Research was founded under the Presidency of Professor Henry Sidgwick for the purpose of investigating certain phenomena "designated by such terms as mesmeric, psychical and spiritualistic,"[3] and in the same year a similar American Society came into being. Since that time most mediums of note have come under the observation of members of the Societies the results of whose investigations will be found recorded in the *Proceedings* and the *Journal* published at regular intervals by both Societies.

Among later mediums we shall give a short account of three only, Mrs. Piper, Mrs. Thompson, and Mme. Eusapia Palladino, whose cases are typical of psychical and physical mediumship respectively. We notice also Mrs. Verrall and Miss Verrall, Mrs. Holland,[4] Mrs. Forbes,[4] and the Misses Miles and Ramsden—all trance-writing mediums, and a few physical mediums who have attracted attention.

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[1] *Preliminary Report of the Seybert Commission on Spiritualism*, see Podmore, Op. cit., pp. 71-80.

[2] His *"Transcendental Physics."*

[3] *Proceedings, S. P. R.*, vol. i.

[4] Mrs. Holland and Mrs. Forbes are both assumed names.

Mrs. Piper[1] of Boston had visited a professional clairvoyant for medical purposes, and at a second visit she herself became entranced and was controlled by the spirit of an Indian girl called Chlorine. This was in 1884.[2] The following year she came under the observation of Professor William James of Harvard, who soon became convinced of her genuine powers and in 1887 introduced her to Dr. Hodgson. From that time she has been in almost constant relation with members of the English and American Societies for Psychical Research. She was now for a long time almost exclusively controlled by the spirit of a French doctor who revealed himself as Phinuit,[3] and she delivered his communications with her voice.

In February, 1892, a certain George Pelham died. The following month he made his appearance as a control, in which capacity he is usually designated as G. P. This marks the beginning of the second period in Mrs. Piper's mediumistic career. G. P. developed communication by writing, and during the early part of this period there was the double control of Phinuit and G. P., the former talking and the second writing, often at the same time and on different subjects.[4]

The second period lasted till 1897, when Phinuit made his last appearance and the Imperator Band—famous in the days of Mr. Moses—assumed the position of chief controls. Since that time G. P. has taken a very

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[1] See Mrs. Henry Sidgwick: *"A contribution to the study of Mrs. Piper's Trance Phenomena" in Proceedings, S. P. R.*, xxviii; cfr. R. Hodgson *in Proceedings, S. P. R.*, xiii:284 et seq., and Podmore, *"Modern Spiritualism,"* vol. II, pp. 333 et seq.; Oliver Lodge, *"The Survival of Man,"* pp. 190 et seq., *et alibi passim*, and *in Proceedings, S. P. R.*, xxiii:127-305; Hyslop, *"Science and a Future Life,"* pp. 113 et seq.; J. G. Piddington *in Proceedings, S. P. R.*, xxii:19-417.

[2] *Proceedings, S. P. R.*, viii:46-47.

[3] Three reports on this control were published: W. James *in Proceedings, Am. S. P. R.*, vol. i, English Committee *in Proceedings, S. P. R.*, vol. vi., R. Hodgson *in Proceedings, S. P. R.*, vol. viii.

[4] The second period was reported on by Hodgson *in Proceedings, S. P. R.*, vol. xiii, and Newbold *in Proceedings, S. P. R.*, vol. xiv.

subordinate part in the communications. At the beginning of the third period voice communications were suspended for a few months and were afterwards but rarely used. The convulsive movements which hitherto had accompanied the medium's entrance into trance ceased completely, much to the relief both of Mrs. Piper and her circle.[1]

The fourth period was ushered in by Hodgson's death in December 1905. The deceased Psychical Researcher, like Gurney and Myers before him, now began to appear as control, while Rector acting under Imperator's directions played the main rôle in such capacity. In 1906 Mrs. Piper visited England, where sittings were held in the presence of Mr. Piddington and Sir Oliver Lodge who gave their reports to the Society.[2] In 1908-09 she had sittings with Mr. Dorr[3] and also with Dr. Stanley Hall and his assistant, Miss Amy Tanner.[4]

Towards the end of 1909 Mrs. Piper made her last trip to England. She was not in good health, and seemed to have lost her power of going into trance. It was not until May the following year that the power returned, and from now on regular sittings were resumed. Sir Oliver Lodge conducted some in the autumn and winter of 1910-11 but the communications were irregular, trance could not always be induced and, what was worse, when induced was followed by a state of coma which made recovery very difficult. Finally Imperator declared that the trance was bad for Mrs. Piper, that the seance should be discontinued and that the spirits must leave. On May 24th he took final leave, but was present at Mrs. Piper's last seance, which was

[1] Reported: Hyslop sittings, *Proceedings, S. P. R.*, vol. xxvi, and *Proceedings, Am. S. P. R.*, vol. iv; Junot sittings, *Proceedings, S. P. R.*, vol. xxiv.

[2] *Proceedings, S. P. R.*, xxii and xxiii resp.

[3] See *Proceedings, S. P. R.*, vol. xxiv.

[4] Who reported in a book: "*Studies in Spiritualism*," New York, 1910.

held in July, 1911, and which is remarkable for the fact that automatic writing developed in an apparently normal state.[1]

The communications received through Mrs. Piper would relate to some deceased person, or to the past, present and future of those still in the flesh. "Her real strength," writes Mr. Podmore,[2] "lies in describing the diseases, personal idiosyncrasies, thoughts, feelings, and character of the sitter and his friends; their loves, hates, quarrels, sympathies, and mutual relationships in general; trivial but significant incidents in their past histories, and the like."

Mrs. Thompson's[3] mediumistic career shows much similarity to that of Mrs. Piper, the main point of difference being that while the latter's mediumship was purely psychical, the former produced physical as well as psychical phenomena. Her first seances were given in 1897 and 1898 usually in the house of Mr. F. W. Thurstan, who would invite, besides Mr. and Mrs. Thompson, a few friends to take part in the sittings, which took place in a double room with curtains separating the two apartments. The one room would be without artificial light, and the other, in which the circle was sitting, illuminated only sufficiently for those present to distinguish each other.

Her main controls were Nelly, her daughter, who had died in infancy, Peter Wharton, who abandoned the medium in 1897 and gave place to a band of seven spirits, four of whom revealed themselves by direct writing as Esther, Charles Wade, Annie and a name which could not be deciphered. It is of particular interest to note that about a year after the death of Mr. Myers, which occurred in January, 1901, he appeared as her control.

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[1] *Proceedings, S. P. R.*, xxviii:127-129.

[2] "*Modern Spiritualism*," vol. II, p. 341.

[3] She has no connection with Mrs. Isaac Thompson, who had sittings with Mrs. Piper.

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The physical phenomena were of the usual type, including materialization, but she seems to have ceased to sit for them in 1898. Her trance differs from that of Mrs. Piper in that it is hardly distinguishable from the normal waking state, and she occasionally receives clairvoyant impressions outside of the seance room.

Her trance communications have been carefully studied by several members of the Society for Psychical Research, and the late Frederic Myers, with whom she was well acquainted, ranked her with W. Stainton-Moses and Mrs. Piper as one of the world's most famous trance-mediums.[1] Their acquaintance makes the subsequent Myers-control doubly interesting.[2]

A peculiar kind of automatic script emerged in 1901[3] under the hand of Mrs. Verrall which has come to be known as cross-correspondence. It consists in fragmentary and often quite unintelligible writing obtained by two or more mediums simultaneously, the messages being complementary of each other so that when read together or interpreted one in the light of another their hidden sense becomes apparent. Real success did not come until 1907, when the famous cross-correspondence took place between Mrs. Piper in London, Mrs. Verrall in Cambridge, and Mrs. Holland in Calcutta.

The phenomenon, to which we shall return in another chapter, has been investigated by Mr. Frank Podmore, Mr. Piddington, Professor Pigou, Miss Alice Johnson, Mr. Dorr, the Right Honorable Gerald Balfour, and others.

We now come to deal with another type of mediumship. Eusapia Palladino, hailed by many as the most

[1] *Proceedings, S. P. R.*, xviii:67 et seq.

[2] For her communications see *Proceedings, S. P. R.*, vols. xvii, xviii, and xx; Sir Oliver Lodge, *"The Survival of Man,"* pp. 228-312 *et alibi passim.*

[3] See Miss Alice Johnson *in Proceedings, S. P. R.*, xxi:375 et seq.

remarkable of physical mediums, was born on January 21, 1854, according to one account in the village of La Pouille,[1] and to another at Minervo Murge near Bari in Apulia.[2] Her mother died while she was an infant, and her father, who seems to have been murdered by brigands some eight or twelve years later,[3] placed her in the hands of neighboring peasants, who neglected the child and when she was only one year old allowed her to fall and injure her head. This is the origin of the cranial opening from which, during her seances, a cold breeze is often reported to issue.

At the death of her father, according to her own account,[4] she was taken in charge by a Neapolitan, who transferred her to some foreign ladies desirous of adopting a child. For almost a year she now underwent the ordeal of daily bath, instruction, and piano lessons, but civilization had no charm for her and she returned to the family of her Neapolitan friend. It was in their house that she was introduced to the practice of table turning and soon was found to possess mediumistic talents. But the seances failed to interest her and after some time she exchanged them for laundress work.

Somewhat later, it seems, she came in contact with M. Damiani, an Italian medium of some reputation, and now John King appeared—the spirit gentleman and buccaneer whose acquaintance we have made in Mr. Koons' seance-room—to remain with her throughout her mediumistic career.[5]

Eusapia was married at Naples to Raphael Delgaiz, a merchant of modest means and an amateur theatrical artist, whose store she helped to manage and from whom

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[1] Flammarion, *"Mysterious Psychic Forces,"* p. 67.
[2] Carrington, *"Eusapia Palladino and Her Phenomena,"* p. 23.
[3] Flammarion, loc. cit., and Carrington, loc. cit.
[4] Mme. Paola Carrara's account, quoted by Carrington *in* Op cit., pp. 20-25 *et alibi passim.*
[5] Ibid.

undoubtedly she learned various conjuring tricks.[1] She never learned to read and write; her language is that of the uneducated Italians, in addition to which she speaks a little French. When Professor Flammarion met her in 1897 she was "a woman of very ordinary appearance, a brunette, her figure a little under the medium height . . . . . not at all neurotic, rather stout."[2] Mme. Carrara describes her as "a mixture of many contrasts. She is a mixture of silliness and maliciousness, of intelligence and ignorance, of strange conditions of existence. . . . . Her appearance and words seem to be quite genuine and sincere. She has not the manner of one who either poses or tricks or deceives others." She is "outspoken, sincere, instinctive, to such a degree that however wonderful may be the tales she tells, they are true." Mme. Carrara finds her not ugly, but her face is marked by suffering and by the fatigue resulting from her seances. "She has magnificent black eyes, mobile and even diabolical in expression. . . . . Her hands are pretty, her feet small." She seems to cherish her appearance.

In the *Annals of Psychical Science*[3] Mrs. Finch—its late editor—makes very bitter attacks upon Eusapia, saying that most of her sitters are deluded or "glamoured" by her mere presence, accuses her of erotic tendencies, and asserts that she holds her sitters spellbound by the very fact that she is a woman. But Mr. Carrington rises to her defense, vehemently denouncing Mrs. Finch's attempt to sully her character.[4] Her "erotic tendencies," however, can not escape the notice of one who reads the accounts of her seances.

In her trance-state, which was usually light and not hypnotic, John King would claim to take possession

[1] Carrington, Op. cit., p. 19.
[2] Op. cit., p. 67.
[3] July-September, 1909.
[4] Op. cit., pp. 339 et seq.

of her and through her lips would address himself to the circle before which she was exhibiting her powers. If we except John King's occasional admonitions, her phenomena were exclusively of a physical character, the most notable consisting of levitations, telekinesis, materializations, and impressions of hands and faces.

Professor Lombroso came to Naples in 1891,[1] where he held sittings with her for the purpose of verifying current reports regarding the marvels she exhibited. Although loth to admit the spiritistic theory of their causation he nevertheless returned convinced that the phenomena which he had witnessed were genuine. His testimony led to new investigations, carried on by scientists and scientific committees for nearly twenty years. We shall return to these in greater detail in our chapter on *Genuine and Spurious Phenomena.* Her first set-back came in Cambridge in 1895 where all her marvels were declared fraudulent. But thanks to her Continental admirers and investigators she soon was rehabilitated and after a series of successful sittings with eminent French, Italian, Russian and Polish savants, her case, which had been dropped by the Society for Psychical Research after the Cambridge exposures, was reconsidered by that body, and the investigating Committee, composed of skeptics, pronounced a verdict in favor of genuine phenomena. After this new triumph Eusapia came to the United States, where, however, she failed miserably and was caught in flagrant fraud. Subsequent attempts to patch up her case were of no avail, and her New York sittings may be said to mark the sad end of her illustrious career.

Physical mediumship of much the same description as that of Eusapia Palladino does not lack modern representatives. Among the best known mediums we shall mention Auguste Politi of Rome, whose phenomena

[1] See M. Ciolfi's report in *Annales des Sciences Psychiques,* 181, p. 326.

were examined by de Rochas in Paris in 1902 and in Rome in 1904,[1] Sambor, who gave numerous seances in St. Petersburg between the years 1897 and 1902,[2] the American, Miller, who in 1904 appeared in Paris,[3] and Mlle. Tomczyk, who was studied by Dr. Ochorowicz in Varsovie.[4] Francesco Carancini discovered his mediumship at one of Politi's seances, came under the observation of Baron von Erhardt in Rome in 1908, and in the following year performed in England before Feilding and Sir William and Lady Crookes and others.[5]

Although scientific investigation had laid bare an overwhelming amount of fraud in spiritistic performances, and in various theories had offered a more or less natural explanation of whatever could not be attributed to fraud, the vast number of Spiritists adhered to the old opinion of spirit intervention. This belief was elaborated and systematized by a great many writers, and the most complete account, probably, of the metaphysics of later Spiritism is to be found in *"The Mechanism of Man"* by Sergeant Cox. Cox attributed the phenomena to the extra corporeal action of the human soul. Man, according to his theory, consists of two parts, body and soul. But the soul is material like the body, having the same shape, parts and magnitude, as a fact, a spirit is not and cannot be immaterial. But the soul is not grossly material, "Its substance is vastly more refined than the thinnest gas with which we are acquainted." It possesses will and intellect, and does not disintegrate with the death of the body. It is exempt

[1] Flammarion, *"Mysterious Psychic Forces,"* pp. 368 et seq.
[2] Count Solovovo in *Annales des Sciences Psychiques*, 1902.
[3] *Annales des Sciences Psychiques*, 1906, pp. 501, 591 et seq.
[4] *Annals of Psychical Science*, 1909, pp. 271-284, 333-399, 515-533.
[5] W. W. Baggally, "Some Sittings with Carancini" *in Journal, S. P. R.*, xiv:193-211.

from gravity and has the power to communicate this exemption to bodies. It can flow through visible "molecular" matter and has enlarged powers of perception dependent upon aërial or ethereal undulations, and so forth.[1]

Other notions are found in the writings of Dr. Hare,[2] who tells us that spirits differ from one another in destiny, and that they have a circulation system through which passes a fluid and also organs for respiration. Mr. Cromwell Varley[3] considers thoughts to be "solid." But there is very little of the commodity among the Spiritists, and Cox's philosophy seems to have survived to the present generation.

Trance speaking and writing have played an important part in Spiritism as a religious movement, and the "inspired" writings of W. Stainton-Moses form its older Gospel. According to him the phenomena in general are ascribed to the spirits of the dead whose revelations are to form the basis of a future world-wide Religion.[4] This idea is to a certain extent adopted by Myers, who makes its exposition the concluding chapter of *"Human Personality."* But while Moses in his *"Spirit Teachings"* makes himself an exponent of rather free Protestantism, Myers' ideas have already abandoned even the most essential elements of Christianity, and in this tendency he has been followed by nearly all educated prophets of Spiritism. Perhaps no work dealing with Spiritism as a religious revelation has created more sensation than Sir Oliver Lodge's *"Raymond,"* a product of the present war. Among our present major prophets Sir Arthur Conan Doyle takes a prominent place, flooding cheap magazines with sensational articles in which he with enviable dogmatic con-

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[1] Podmore, *"Studies, etc.,"* pp. 35-36.
[2] *"Spirit Manifestations."*
[3] *Dialectical Report,* p. 172.
[4] See his *"Spirit Teachings"*—"M. A. (Oxon)."

viction extols vague and undigested doctrines at the expense of the dark superstition of traditional Christianity. The minor prophets and their various teachings defy enumeration.

In 1855 there were two millions of Spiritists in the United States, twelve or fourteen periodicals were devoted to the cause of the movement, lectures were given every day of the year and spiritistic circles were held day and night in nearly every city, town and village throughout the country.[1] Since then the number both of adherents and of publications has increased. In 1887 there were about one hundred newspapers dealing with the philosophy and phenomena of Spiritism, thirty of which were published in the English language—the majority circulating in the United States—and forty in Spanish.

There is no exact or reliable information concerning the number of adherents at the present time. Since the outbreak of the war the movement in its popular, religious form seems to have gained considerably in England where, if we are to believe recent accounts, a veritable frenzy of spirit consultation has seized those who have lost dear relatives and friends in the struggle.[2]

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[1] *North American Review*, April, 1855.

[2] See "*Spiritism in England*," by Robert Mountsier *in The Bookman*, January, 1918.

CHAPTER II.

Physical Phenomena.

The phenomena of Spiritism may be classified in two groups, Physical and Psychical. In making this classification we do not attempt to base ourselves on the cause or causes, whether claimed or established, of the phenomena, for the question of their source or sources will be the subject of later discussion. We merely look to their general, *prima facie* appearance as being of a physical or a psychical character, and classify them accordingly. In this and the two following chapters, therefore, we shall attempt under proper headings to present the main and more typical phenomena as described by eye witnesses of repute, chiefly in the publications of men and societies devoted to investigation of Spiritism.

The Physical Phenomena appear as effects produced in physical substances and often occur in connection with external objects such as pieces of furniture, household objects and human bodies. They may be said to be external manifestations apparently of occult agencies, mediately through some physical object or substance. While they show considerable variation they may be separated into two groups, one of which includes mainly such effects as locomotion, counteraction of gravitation, and percussion—or, in general, the application of a seemingly physical force to objects, the other embracing phenomena suggesting a more profound alteration in physical nature or implying the conveyance of intelligence by physical means. The phenomena of the first group consist in movements of

inanimate objects, apport, change in weight, levitation, touches and sounds, while the second group embraces elongation, ability to touch burning substances, production of inanimate substances, materialization, impressions, spirit-photography, direct spirit messages and spirit voices. To each group we shall give a separate chapter.

1. *Movement of inanimate objects.* To this group belong some of the earliest and most common performances of the seance-room, consisting of slow or rapid, sometimes violent, movements principally of tables or other pieces of furniture, but also of other objects of all descriptions, opening and closing of doors, and in general the upheavals known as Poltergeist-performances, all effected with or without contact with the performer, but not always without visible physical exertion on his part. The motive power either seems to emanate from the performer, who as in the case of Eusapia Palladino often becomes exhausted, or to be supplied by some invisible agency.

The commonest forms of movement of this kind are table turning and table tilting or levitation, which often constitute the initial stage of a spiritistic seance. The sitters having formed a chain by placing their hands on the table, the latter begins a rotary movement, which sometimes continues after the hands have been lifted a short distance from the surface. Occasionally the movement becomes quite rapid, the table dancing about on the floor. Table tilting has been described in the chapter dealing with the history of Spiritism.[1] Usually one end or corner of the table rises a short distance from the floor, remains for a few moments in the raised position and falls back. Less often the whole table is raised, first one end, then the other. This effect is more easily

[1] See p. 22.

obtained when the hands rest upon the table, but remarkable levitations have been observed when the medium alone has held one or both hands above its surface.

Mr. Sergeant Cox records levitations three inches from the floor of a solid mahogany table six feet wide and nine feet long. They took place in broad light, Cox and the medium standing on each side of the table, two feet away from it and holding their hands above the surface.[1] Eusapia Palladino's seances afford many examples of this phenomenon. With her, complete levitations are very frequent, the table rising 4 to 8, and, exceptionally, 24 to 27, inches from the floor.[2]

Some interesting photographs have been taken during experiments with table levitation. One made by M. G. de Fontenoy shows the table lifted twenty-five centimetres from the floor, the hands of two sitters plainly being seen on the table while the other two sitters are engaged in "controlling" Palladino, the medium, whose hands and feet, which are in full view, do not touch the table.[3] Another taken at Auteuil by M. Guerronnau gives an excellent view of a high and complete levitation without contact.[4] Similar photographs were taken at seances before the French Psychological Institute[5] and at sittings with the medium Politi held in Paris in 1902.[6]

During experiments the writer noticed that the table —usually a large flower table—when levitated, in spite of his efforts, could not be pressed back to the floor. At the Palladino seances it was observed that pressure on the levitated table gave a sensation of floating on water

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[1] "*What am I?*" quoted by F. W. H. Myers *in Proceedings, S. P. R.*, ix:259, foot note.

[2] Flammarion, "*Mysterious Psychic Forces*," p. 154.

[3] Idem, opposite p. 82.

[4] Idem, opposite p. 174.

[5] Flournoy, "*Spiritism and Psychology*," opposite p. 270.

[6] Flammarion, Op. cit., opposite p. 368.

or on some elastic fluid.[1] On one occasion Professor Lombroso estimated that it required a pressure of twelve to fifteen pounds to force the table down.[2] But we have examples of much greater force being in activity. When a certain young boy played the piano, the instrument would become levitated. When two persons tried to prevent the levitation by leaning with all their might on the corners of the piano one of two things would happen: the levitation would take place in spite of their efforts, or the music stool with the player would be pushed back.[3] Professor Flammarion, who saw the piano in question, calculated that it would require an upward pressure, in one case of about 165, in another of about 440 pounds to lift the key-board edge of the instrument.[4]

Movement of other objects without contact is a frequent occurrence in the seance-room. Furniture at a distance from the sitters will move along the floor in slow or lively gait, pictures will be torn from the walls and again be replaced, bric-à-brac will leave mantelpieces or tables, dart about in the air or be placed in the lap or pockets of those present, burning coals will fly from the fireplace, and so on.

At one of Sir William Crookes' sittings with D. D. Home a lath, two feet long and one and one-half inches wide, covered with white paper to make it more easily visible, was lying on the table, the sitters having formed a chain with their hands away from the table. The lath presently began to rise, first one end reaching a height of ten inches above the table, then the other end half this distance. For a period of about one minute the lath continued floating in this position, much like a

[1] Flammarion, Op. cit., opposite p. 5. Same sensation with Mlle. Huet as medium, p. 37.

[2] Idem, p. 144.

[3] Thury: "*Les Tables Tournantes*," quoted by Flammarion, Op. cit., p. 275.

[4] Flammarion: Op. cit., p. 275.

piece of wood on a small wave of the sea. It then gradually descended to the table, beginning with the lower end. The phenomenon was repeated and this time Sir William was able to reassure himself that the lath was not touched, Home sitting at least three feet distant from it.[1]

Another interesting phenomenon was produced by Home in Sir William's presence. A wire cage had been placed under the table and in this cage an accordion was held in Home's left hand which reached down between the upper edge of the cage and the top of the table. His right hand rested on the table. The accordion thus vertically suspended in the cage with its lower end containing the key-board quite free presently began to play and continued to do so after it had been lifted out of the cage and left levitated in the air without support. The experiment was repeated and this time the accordion was left by itself in the cage, where it began to play while floating about unsupported.[2]

The Palladino seances were rich in phenomena of this kind. She always sat before the seance table with her back turned to the "cabinet," which was a corner partitioned from the rest of the room by means of a pair of curtains. The advent of phenomena was almost invariably heralded by an inflation of the curtain, giving the impression that it was pushed out by a strong gust of air from the cabinet. At times the curtain would protrude so far as to envelop the medium or one of the sitters. Various articles would now begin to move. A violin, a tambourine, a table, a bell or a book, which previously had been placed in the cabinet, would be thrown on the table, be pushed along the floor or would sail about in the air. Often considerable force was displayed. The violin would be hurled upon the table, objects would be wrenched from the hands of an experi-

[1] *Proceedings, S. P. R.*, vi:111-112.
[2] *"Researches in Spiritualism,"* pp. 12 et seq.

menter and returned to the cabinet, or pieces of furniture moved on the floor and upset. It is recorded how a chair weighing twenty-two pounds suffered this fate, how a big divan was seen approaching the circle, how a small table advanced towards Professor Lombroso, one of the sitters, who took it between his hands but in spite of his efforts was unable to hold it, and how a music box was presented to the curtain where it was seized and thrown back, wounding a gentleman present by striking him beneath the left eye.[1]

Other peculiarities were observed in connection with these phenomena. A small table, a violin, a chair or other objects would approach one of the sitters, endeavoring to climb up his legs. Occasionally the climbing would be successful and the object would place itself in the lap of the gentleman in question. At other times they would climb and place themselves upon the table. Again it was observed how on approaching one of the sitters the small table would hesitate, seem to struggle between different desires and finally continue its course.[2]

Objects were often heard moving about in the cabinet. Mme. Flammarion relates the following incident:[3]

"Up to the moment when the event that I am going to relate took place, Mme. Brisson had remained almost as incredulous as I, apropos of the phenomena, and she had just been expressing to me in a low tone her regret at not having yet seen anything herself, when, all of a sudden, the curtain behind Eusapia began to shake and move gracefully back, as if lifted by an invisible curtain band—and what do I see? The little table on

[1] Various reports on sittings with Eusapia Palladino in Paris 1898, and in Milan 1899, *in* Flammarion, "*Mysterious Psychic Forces*," pp. 96, 125, 98, 94, 97, 156, 90, 114.

[2] Various reports on seances in Naples and Paris, *in* Flammarion, Op. cit., pp. 99-100, 145, 114, 125, 146-50.

[3] Mme. Flammarion's notes *in* Flammarion, Op. cit., pp. 126-127; cfr. M. Mathieu's report on seance Nov. 25, 1898, Ibid., p. 113.

three feet, and leaping (apparently in high spirits) over the floor, at the height of about eight inches, while the gilded tambourine is in its turn leaping gaily at the same height above the table, and noisily tinkling its bells.

"Stupefied with wonder, quick as I can pull Mme. Brisson to my side, and, pointing with my finger at what is taking place, 'Look!' said I.

"And then the table and the tambourine begin their carpet-dance again in perfect unison, one of them falling forcibly upon the floor and the other upon the table. Mme. Brisson and I could not help bursting out into laughter; for, indeed, it was too funny!"

Movements of objects would sometimes follow Eusapia's or Prof. Flammarion's movements synchronically, and the curtains were found at times to become inflated at the gestures of sitters.[1] We shall find a parallel to this when treating of the phenomenon of sounds.

Another variation of the phenomenon consists in movement of the keys of a musical instrument, without contact, often in a manner to produce pieces of music. We have mentioned Home's prestations with the accordion. The phenomenon was reproduced by Eusapia Palladino. M. Flammarion was holding an accordion, just purchased by him, vertically suspended in the air with the keys down and near the medium, whose hands, however, could not touch it. After the lapse of five to six seconds the bellows began to be moved and at the same time music was heard. M. Flammarion now let go of the accordion, which remained "as if glued to the curtain." Once more it began to play, no one holding

[1] M. Mathieu's report on seance, Nov. 25, and M. Armelin's report on seance, Nov. 21, both in Paris 1898, *in* Flammarion, Op. cit., pp. 111-113, 103 et seq.

it, and while playing it moved to the middle of the table.[1] An account of a piano producing music without being touched will be found in Flammarion's work to which we often have made reference.[2]

2. *Apport.* Apport of various objects into the seance-room is a rather frequently witnessed phenomenon. It consists in an object being, as it were, carried by invisible hands from one room to another or transported from the outside to the circle of sitters. At times objects already in the seance-room are moved in a manner which gives the impression of conveyance by invisible hands. Dr. Spear tells how in the Reverend Mr. Moses' home on the Isle of Man invisible hands brought various toilet articles, etc., to the center of Mr. Moses' bed, arranging them in the shape of a cross, Moses' clerical collar forming the halo around the upper portion thereof.[3]

At a seance held with Dr. and Mrs. Spear, Moses relates how the spirit "Dicky came and brought very gently an ivory piece of puzzle from the drawing-room." At Moses' request "he fetched another. After this," Mr. Moses continues, "I felt something crawling over my right hand (which Mrs. Spear held) and could not make out what it was. When a light was struck we found it to be a marker from Mrs. Spear's bedroom. It had *crawled* over my hand, and was placed directly in front of her, with the legend 'God is our refuge and strength' right before her eyes."[4]

Similar phenomena are abundantly recorded from Palladino's seances. At a sitting in Paris in 1898 a cushion upon which a member of the circle was resting his elbows was suddenly snatched away from him and

[1] Flammarion, Op. cit., p. 121-122.
[2] p. 369.
[3] *Proceedings, S. P. R.*, xi:265.
[4] Ibid., ix:311.

thrown against a mirror.[1] At another sitting M. Lévy[2] tells us how "a force" has been abusing M. Mathieu, another sitter, and while this gentleman "is complaining of the violence used upon him, we hear the sound of the tambourine, which is then quickly thrown upon the table. Next the violin arrives in the same manner. . . . I seize the tambourine and ask the Invisible if he wishes to take it. I feel a hand grasping the instrument. I am not willing to let it go. A struggle now ensues between myself and a force which I judge to be considerable. In the tussle a violent effort pushes the tambourine into my hand, and the cymbals penetrate the flesh. I feel a sharp pang, and a good deal of blood flows. I let go of the handle. I just now ascertain, by the light, that I have a deep gash under the right thumb nearly an inch long."

A book held before the curtain was seized, and in like manner a cigarette holder which later was thrown into the seance-room through the cleft between the curtains. Twigs of different trees were carried into the room through the open window.[3] Another time a glass half full of water standing on a buffet out of reach of the sitters was carried in complete darkness and with great precision to the lips of three persons present who drank of it.[4] A carafe is reported by M. Porro to have moved from one table to another, flowers were put in the mouth of a sitter, the carafe came to the mouth of the medium, who was made to drink from it twice—in between the two times it sank down to the table, where it stood upright for a moment[5]—a guitar was lifted from the wall

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[1] M. Armelin's report on seance in Paris, Nov. 21, 1898, *in* Flammarion, Op. cit., p. 109.

[2] His report on seance in Paris, Nov. 16, 1898. Ibid., p. 89.

[3] M. Mathieu's report on seance in Paris Nov. 25, 1898, Ibid., pp. 113, 112.

M. le Bon's report on seance in Paris Nov. 28. Ibid., p. 201.

M. Claretie's report on seance in Paris Nov. 25. Ibid., p. 99.

[4] Report of M. de Siemiradski on sittings in Rome 1893-94, Ibid., p. 163.

[5] In Op. cit., p. 182.

where it was hanging, approached the circle with great rapidity, making changes in its course; it then struck three blows on the forehead of one sitter, which became bruised, and came to rest very quietly on the table. Finally a heavy typewriter was brought from one table to another.[1]

The apparent passing of objects through solid substances has frequently been reported from sittings with mediums. Among the objects brought into Mr. Moses' seance-room when the doors were securely closed we may mention a blue enamel cross, a snuff box, a candle stick, a biscuit, a pair of Sevres salad tongs, gravel, a marble statuette, a chamois horn, flowers, seed pearls, a silver salver, large stones and various gems.

Other peculiar phenomena of somewhat the same type were observed by Professor Zöllner in Leipzig during his experiments with Slade 1877-78. Coins were taken out from securely closed and sealed boxes, and other things put into them, rings strung to a piece of catgut and sealed were freed and put round the leg of the table, knots were tied on an endless cord and a table laid itself to rest under another table, stretched its legs across the floor and finally entirely vanished out of the room and returned from the ceiling.[2]

From the Palladino seances we record the passing of a book through the cabinet curtain. It was at a seance given in Paris in 1898, and we quote M. Flammarion: "Jules Bois presents a book before the curtain at about the height of a man standing upright. The salon is dimly lighted—yet objects are seen with distinctness. An invisible hand behind the curtain seizes the book. Then all the observers see it disappear as if it had passed through the curtain." Mme. Flammarion, quite skeptical about the phenomena and hoping to detect fraud

[1] Reports on seances in Paris 1898, *in* Flammarion, "*Mysterious Psychic Forces*," pp. 109, 87, 113, 112.

[2] "*Transcendental Physics*," pp. 50-51, 17-18, 90-91.

and unmask the medium, had glided past the windows to the rear of the curtain. "Suddenly the book appears to her, it having passed through the curtain—upheld in the air, without hands or arms, for a space of one or two seconds. Then she sees it fall down. She cries, 'Oh! the book: it has just passed through the curtain!' and, pale and stupefied with wonder, she abruptly retires among the observers."[1]

In the presence of the Russian medium Sambor phenomena of still more astounding nature appeared.[2] A chair was lifted from under its occupant and endeavored to hang itself on the hand with which he was holding the medium. It then suddenly disappeared from that gentleman's arm and was felt pressing upon the arm of the narrator, the hand of which was holding that of a neighbor. When the light was turned on, it became evident to all those present that the arm in question had passed through the back of the chair. At a later seance the phenomenon was again produced after the hands concerned had been joined with a strip of cloth.[3]

3. *Change in weight of objects.* This phenomenon was produced by Mr. Home, among others, before Sir William Crookes and a friend of his, Dr. A. B., all precautions against fraud having been taken. Sir William had fitted up an apparatus consisting of a mahogany board, thirty-six inches long by nine and one-half inches wide and one inch thick, one end of which rested on a firm table, the other being attached to a spring balance with self-registering index. The apparatus was adjusted to hold the mahogany board horizontally, in which position its weight was registered

[1] Flammarion, "*Mysterious Psychic Forces*," pp. 129-130.

[2] Count Petrovo Solovovo's report on seances in 1901 *in Annales des Sciences Psychiques*, 1902—see Flammarion, Op. cit., p. 372.

[3] Flammarion, Op. cit., p. 373.

to be three pounds. Home by placing his fingers on the edge of the board, which rested on the table, occasioned the pointer of the balance to descend and ascend several times. He then placed a small hand-bell and a card match-box, one under each hand, on the board, this in order to convince the investigators that he was not producing the downward movement by pressure of his hands. The scale now registered as much as nine pounds, or six pounds in excess of the original weight. Standing on one foot on the edge of the board, where Home's fingers previously had been held, Crookes who weighed 140 pounds occasioned the scale to register but two pounds' increase. The experiment was repeated several times.[1]

Later Sir William altered the apparatus so that a vessel filled with water was placed on the edge of the board resting on the table, and the balance was furnished with an automatic clock register, showing alteration in weight in curves drawn on smoked glass.[2] Home placed his right hand finger tips in the water, his left hand and his feet being held. The balance immediately registered an increase in weight, the lowest point reached corresponding to a pull of about 5,000 grains. The water-bowl was now withdrawn, and without any contact between Home and the apparatus alteration in weight was registered.[3]

Not satisfied with the results of these experiments Sir William constructed a more delicate apparatus consisting of a horizontal board with a light lever, the shorter end of which rested with a vertical point on parchment tightly stretched across a circular hoop of wood, the longer ending in a needle which touched a smoked glass plate movable by means of a clock work.

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[1] *Researches in Spiritualism*, pp. 11, 14-15.

[2] Ibid., pp. 33-36.

[3] Ibid., pp. 37-42. For similar experiments, Thury and Gasparin, see "*Des Tables Tournantes*," and by Dr. Hare, "*Experimental Investigations.*"

It was sufficient for Home to hold his hands on the side of the board (not on the lever) or above, but not touching the lever, in order to produce percussive sounds on the parchment and cause the lever to move up and down, which movements were registered in curves on the glass plate.[1]

Although under less exact control, Eusapia Palladino produced similar effects; she would place her hands outstretched one on each side of a letter weigher which then would register as if weights had been placed on it. M. Lévy records how a considerable registration was obtained when her hands were held four inches from the instrument, and after it had been ascertained that she did not hold a hair or similar object between her hands (occasionally she would resort to this trick, pressing the top of the scales with the hair).[2] The experiment had been successfully performed in l'Agnelas in 1895 before a distinguished assembly of scientists,[3] and at other sessions in Paris.[4]

During the sittings in Milan in 1892 a table was suspended by one of its ends to a dynamometer coupled to a cord which in its turn was securely supported from above. The end of the table being lifted six and a half inches the dynamometer registered seventy-seven pounds. Eusapia seating herself at the suspended end of the table placed her hands wholly thereon, one on each side of the dynamometer, which now began to show a gradual diminution in weight till it finally registered zero. When placing her hands under the table she increased the weight of its suspended end from seven and a half to thirteen pounds.[5]

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[1] *"Researches in Spiritualism,"* pp. 38 et seq.

[2] Report on seance Nov. 16, 1898, *in* Flammarion, *"Mysterious Psychic Forces,"* p. 88.

[3] Flammarion, Ibid., p. 173.

[4] Ibid., p. 198.

[5] Ibid., p. 153. See also pp. 413-414.

4. *Levitation of human body.* Still more remarkable, perhaps, than change in weight of inanimate objects are the phenomena of levitation as observed with certain mediums, notably D. D. Home, W. Stainton-Moses, and Eusapia Palladino. Sir William Crookes attests[1] that "on one occasion (he) witnessed a chair, with a lady sitting on it, rise several inches from the ground. On another occasion, to avoid the suspicion of this being in some way performed by herself, the lady knelt on the chair in such manner that its four feet were visible to (those present). It then rose about three inches, remained suspended for about ten seconds, and then slowly descended."

Eusapia Palladino was levitated in the same manner at the Milan sittings in 1892.[2] Messrs. Richet and Lombroso were holding her two hands and the medium complained of suffering pressure under the arm. Presently, in a state of trance, she said—or rather "John King" through her—: "Now I will bring up my medium upon the table." A few seconds later the chair with the medium in it rose slowly and placed itself on the table, from where it again carefully descended to the floor after an announcement to that effect had taken place. A few days later the performance was repeated.

Three times Sir William saw D. D. Home levitated, once sitting in an easy chair, once kneeling on his chair and once standing on the floor. On separate occasions he witnessed two children with their chairs rise from the floor, in broad daylight and under best circumstances for observation.[3]

The Master of Lindsay describes the following experience with Mr. Home, on which he previously had reported to the Committee of the Dialectical Society:[4] "I was sitting with Mr. Home and Lord Adare and a

[1] "*Researches in Spiritualism,*" p. 89.
[2] Flammarion, "*Mysterious Psychic Forces,*" p. 159-60.
[3] "*Researches in Spiritualism,*" p. 89.
[4] *Dialectical Report,* p. 214.

cousin of his. During the sitting, Mr. Home went into a trance, and in that state was carried out of the window in the room next to where we were, and was brought in at our window. The distance between the windows was about seven feet six inches, and there was not the slightest foothold between them, nor was there more than a twelve-inch projection to each window, which served as a ledge to put flowers on. We heard the window in the next room lifted up, and almost immediately after we saw Home floating in the air outside our window. The moon was shining full into the room; my back was to the light, and I saw the shadow on the wall of the window sill, and Home's feet about six inches above it. He remained in this position for a few seconds, then raised the window and glided into the room feet foremost and sat down."

"Lord Adare then went into the next room to look at the window from which he had been carried. It was raised about eighteen inches, and he expressed his wonder how Mr. Home had been taken through so narrow an aperture. Home said, still entranced, 'I will show you,' and then with his back to the window he leaned back and was shot out of the aperture, head first, with the body rigid, and then returned quite quietly. The window is about seventy feet from the ground."[1]

On several occasions W. Stainton-Moses was levitated. Once he was lifted in his chair about twelve or fourteen inches from the floor, then floated from the chair, ascended higher and was moved to one of the ceiling corners of the room, after which he quietly descended. While this occurred he was not in the state of trance. As he approached the wall he placed a pencil between his chest and the wall, making a mark thereon for later verification of the phenomenon. The sitters declared themselves to have heard Moses' voice issuing from the corner of the ceiling.[2]

[1] Podmore, "*Studies, etc.,*" pp. 52-53.
[2] *Proceedings, S. P. R.*, ix:261. Further instances Ibid., vi:119, 126.

5. *Touches.* Touches as of hands are often felt at dark seances, less frequently when light is admitted. The phenomena show considerable variations ranging from gentle touches as with a closed hand or contact with the palm or fingers, to heavy blows which leave unmistakable marks on the victims. There may be a few scattered touches during a seance, again the frequency of their administration is sometimes greatly increased. Then, at times, there are violent pushes or strong pressure felt on different parts of the body.

The touches may also take the form of pinchings of ears, cheek, etc., or some one present will have his hair or beard pulled.

Professor Flammarion on one occasion "was struck several times in the side, touched on the head, and (his) ear was smartly pinched." He goes on to say:[1] "I declare that after several repetitions I had enough of this ear pinching; but during the whole seance, in spite of my protestations, somebody kept hitting me." Sir Oliver Lodge[2] felt blows as if some one was striking the head, arms, or the back, while the head, the hands, and the feet of the medium were plainly in view or held apart from the portions of the body that were touched." And M. Victorien Sardou tells us[3] that on one occasion he received a "blow with the flat of the hand, applied in the small of the back, without hurting (him) at all, (which) was strong enough to make (him) lean forward, in spite of (himself), toward the table."

More pleasant, perhaps, are the gentle caresses with which sitters at seances are sometimes favored. M. Pallotti several times experienced gentle strokes on his face, head, neck, and breast "by a hand which came out

[1] His Experiments with Eusapia Palladino *in "Mysterious Psychic Forces,"* p. 73.

[2] Flammarion, Op. cit., p. 167.

[3] Report on seances in Paris, Nov. 19, 1898, *in* Flammarion, Op. cit., p. 97.

from behind the curtain."[1] But the spirits do not stop at such trifles. When the right ones appear there will be enacted regular love scenes with embraces and kisses according to ancient terrestrial tradition.

It happened at one of the Palladino sittings in Paris in 1898[2] that a certain M. Boutigny—who was affianced to the daughter of M. Pallotti—while standing before the curtain which gaped open by his side, aloud announced that he was being caressed very affectionately. The medium, in an extraordinary state of agitation, kept on saying: *"Amore mio, Amore mio!"* Then she called to Pallotti, *"Adesso vieni tu,"* and hastening to take B.'s place he was kissed several times. For a moment he could touch the head of the affectionate Invisible. The medium was all the time carefully watched.

But it is not always necessary to await the pleasure of the amorous spirits. Kisses may be had for the asking, although the quality in such cases seems slightly inferior.[3]

Touches are also felt as of a beard, of human hair, etc. At times the sensation is very distinct so that the person experiencing it can tell whether the beard is soft or coarse, whether the hair is that of a man or a woman, and so on. The hands which perform touches are sometimes the large, robust—and even hairy—hands of a man, at other times the smaller, softer hands of a woman or those of a child. It has frequently been ascertained that the hands were quite different from those of the medium—or that the beard or hair was different from her hair—and on many occasions the touches have been felt when the medium's hands were reported securely

[1] Report on seance in Paris, Nov. 14, 1898, *in* Flammarion, *"Mysterious Psychic Forces,"* p. 116.

[2] M. Pallotti's report on seance Nov. 14, Ibid., p. 115.

[3] Flammarion reports from experiments with Palladino in Milan 1892: "One of us having expressed the wish to be kissed, felt before his very mouth the peculiar quick sounds of a kiss, but not accompanied by any contact of lips."—Op. cit., p. 161.

held—as always was the case with Eusapia Palladino, from the accounts of whose seances these incidents are gathered—and also exposed to full view.[1] The same phenomena occurred during sittings with Auguste Politi when that medium was securely inclosed in a sack.[2]

The hand has been felt coming out from the curtain behind the medium, or the blows or pinches have been administered *through* the curtain.[3] Again, hands will emerge from the curtain and then advance "so far as to touch first one, then the other of the company, caressing them, pressing their hands, daintily pulling their ears or clapping hands merrily in the air above their heads."[4]

M. Victorien Sardou records the following curious instant:[5] "You (Flammarion) disengaged your left hand from the chain, and, turning toward me, twice made in the air the gesture of a director of an orchestra waving his bâton to and fro. And each time, with perfect precision, I felt upon my side the repercussion of a blow exactly tallying your gesture, which reached me and which seemed to me to correspond exactly to the time necessary for the transference of a billiard ball or a tennis ball from you to me."

Twice Professor Schiaparelli had his spectacles, which were fastened with springs round his ears, removed from his nose with greatest precision, and placed on the table before another sitter. This was accomplished in full darkness.[6]

6. *Sounds* of various kinds are among the more usual occurrences of the seance-room. Mysterious raps

[1] See v. g. M. Brisson's report *in* Flammarion, Op. cit., p. 111.
[2] Flammarion, Op. cit., p. 371.
[3] M. Mathieu's report *in* Flammarion, Op. cit., pp. 116, 113.
[4] Prof. Porro's report *in* Flammarion, Op. cit., p. 181.
[5] His report on seance in Paris, Nov. 19, 1898, *in* Flammarion, Op. cit., p. 97.
[6] Flammarion, Op. cit., p. 160.

constituted the initial phenomena of the spiritistic movement, and have ever since been popularly known as perhaps the most common means of communication on the part of the spirits. So far as messages produced by rappings are concerned we shall return to them in another connection.

At W. Stainton-Moses' seances there occurred a "great variety of raps, often given simultaneously, and ranging in force from the tapping of a finger nail to the tread of a foot sufficiently heavy to shake the room. Each spirit *always* had its own distinctive rap . . . . . and those sounds often took place in sufficient light for the sitters to see each other's features and . . . . hands. . . . These raps could not possibly have been produced by any human agency. . . ."[1] Sir William Crookes thinks that the name of "raps" gives an erroneous impression of the phenomena. He says:[2] "At different times, during my experiments, I have heard delicate ticks, as with the point of a pin; a cascade of sharp sounds as from an induction coil in full work; detonations in the air; sharp metallic taps; a cracking like that heard when a frictional machine is at work; sounds like scratching; the twittering as of a bird, etc."

The variety in these phenomena to which Sir William makes reference will be found with most mediums—at least of the class which is not obviously fraudulent. The many reports on Eusapia Palladino's seances gathered by Professor Flammarion[3] show a variation ranging from ordinary taps as if produced with a finger to powerful thuds and blows. They do not always proceed from the table, but sometimes from the floor or from objects in the room.[4] Miss Fox seems to have

[1] Extract from Charlton J. Spear's letter to Mr. Myers, Nov. 5, 1893, *in Proceedings, S. P. R.*, ix:345.

[2] "*Researches, etc.*," p. 86.

[3] See "*Mysterious Psychic Forces.*"

[4] Ibid., p. 88, *and* M. J. Maxwell, "*Les Phénomènes Psychiques*," quoted by Flammarion *in* Op. cit., p. 360.

been able at pleasure to produce them on any object. Again we quote Sir William:[1]

"With mediums, generally, it is necessary to sit for a formal *séance* before anything is heard; but in the case of Miss Fox it seems only necessary for her to place her hand on any substance for loud thuds to be heard in it, like a triple pulsation, sometimes loud enough to be heard several rooms off. In like manner I have heard them in a living tree—on a sheet of glass—on a stretched iron wire—on a stretched membrane—a tambourine—on the roof of a cab—and on the floor of a theater. Moreover, actual contact is not always necessary; I have heard these sounds proceeding from the floor, walls, etc., when the medium's hands and feet were held—when she was standing on a chair—when she was enclosed in a wire cage—and when she had fallen fainting on a sofa. I have heard them on a glass harmonicon—I have felt them on my own shoulder and under my own hands."

Eusapia Palladino obtained raps at a distance of ten feet,[2] and similar incidents are referred to by Dr. Maxwell as having occurred with different mediums.[3] It should be noted that they are not always heard on an object but rather as if proceeding from within the same. This was adverted to by those who observed Palladino,[4] by Sir William Crookes,[5] and by Dr. Maxwell, who writes,[6] "I have heard them on sheets of paper laid on the experiment table, in books, in walls, in tambourines, in small wooden objects, especially in a planchette used for automatic writing." He also noticed them *in* the wood of a pencil which was being used for automatic

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[1] "*Researches in Spiritualism*," pp. 86-87.
[2] Flammarion, Op. cit., p. 88.
[3] Ibid., p. 361.
[4] See v. g. Flammarion, Op. cit., p. 88.
[5] "*Researches in Spiritualism*," p. 88.
[6] "*Les Phénomènes Psychiques*," quoted by Flammarion, Op. cit., p. 361.

writing, carefully ascertaining that the pencil did not tap the table.

Raps will sometimes occur following the gestures of the medium or of some one present. Eusapia Palladino on one occasion asked one of the sitters to lift his hand about eight inches above the table, and then made three taps thereon with her finger. The three taps were simultaneously heard *in* the table.[1] At the same seance she freed her right hand and beating four or five times in the air produced corresponding sounds on the tambourine in the cabinet. On another occasion while her hands were held her fingers executed the movements as if playing a tambourine, to which the tambourine in the cabinet accurately responded.[2]

Musical sounds occur less frequently than raps. We do not refer to musical sounds produced upon a musical instrument, for such are rather to be referred to as raps or as movement without contact. We shall have to confine ourselves to an account of some of the musical sounds heard during Mr. Moses' performances[3] in a room where there was no musical instrument. They were many and of great variety. Four types could be distinguished. First there was the sound of the "fairy bells," "resembling the tones produced by striking musical glasses with a small hammer," and apparently issuing from within the table. Moses testifies that he "saw (the spirit) Grocyn making the sounds; he stood pointing at the table, and as he pointed the sound was made. Behind him stood (Benjamin) Franklin. As the power failed, Franklin seemed to put more into him by passes. He gradually faded, and the sound ceased."[4]

[1] M. Antoniadi's report on seance in Paris Nov. 21, 1898, *in* Flammarion, Op. cit., p. 105.

[2] Dr. Le Bon's report on seances Nov. 28, 1898, *in* Ibid., p. 101.

[3] C. T. Spear's letter *in Proceedings, S. P. R.*, xi:346-347.

[4] Experiences of Mr. Moses, seances Nov. 21, 1874, *in Proceedings, S. P. R.*, xi:59.

Next there was the sound of a stringed instrument akin to a violoncello. It was heard only in single notes, and used entirely by one spirit. The third sound was that of a hand-bell, which would be rung sharply to indicate the presence of a certain spirit. It issued from the walls, the ceiling, etc. Finally, a sound, difficult to describe, but resembling "the soft tune of a clarionet gradually increasing in intensity, until it rivalled the sound of a trumpet, then by degrees diminishing to the original subdued note of the clarionet, until it eventually died away in a long-drawn-out melancholy wail." It was always associated with a certain spirit.[1]

Other noises are frequently noticed at seances. Mr. Moses records: "a noise rather like sawing wood," and another time,[2] "little dropping sounds on the table which turned out to be minute beads.

[1] His notes of Sept. 19, 1872, *in Proceedings, S. P. R.*, ix:285.
[2] Experiences of Mr. Moses *in* Ibid. xi:59.

CHAPTER III.

Physical Phenomena.
(Continued.)

In the preceding chapter we have dealt with that part of the physical phenomena which apparently could not postulate an in itself very complex physical operation and it remains for us to make mention of those suggesting a more profound alteration in physical nature or implying the conveyance of intelligence by physical means.

7. *Elongation of human body.* This phenomenon has been shown by a few mediums, principally D. D. Home, Herne, J. J. Morse and Peters. Lord Lindsay gives the following account of an elongation of Home which he had witnessed:[1]

"On another occasion I saw Mr. Home, in a trance, elongated eleven inches. I measured him standing up against the wall, and marked the place; not being satisfied with that, I put him in the middle of the room and placed a candle in front of him, so as to throw a shadow on the wall, which I also marked. When he awoke I measured him again in his natural size, both directly and by the shadow, and the results were equal. I can swear that he was not off the ground or standing on tiptoe, as I had full view of his feet, and, moreover, a gentleman present had one of his feet placed over Home's insteps, one hand on his shoulder, and the other on his side where the false ribs come near the hip-bone."

In 1900 the medium Peters was elongated in Rev. C. J. M. Shaw's house, Shaw and his brother sit-

[1] *Dialectical Report*, p. 207. See also Podmore, "*Modern Spiritualism*," vol. II, p. 259.

ting on each side of the medium, holding each one foot on the feet of Peters. Peters began to sway to and fro, then raised his arms and began to grow taller. Suddenly his one arm was found to be six inches longer than the other, then the shorter arm was elongated to match the longer one. In the meantime Peters continued to grow. Finally he collapsed and fell to the floor.[1]

8. *Touching of burning substances.* Among Mr. Home's phenomena one of the most interesting is the so-called fire-ordeal, consisting in Home's or one of the sitters' taking in his hand a red-hot coal without suffering injury or pain. On one occasion, in the presence of Sir William, Home put his hand into the fireplace and "very deliberately pulled the lumps of hot coal off, one at a time, with his right hand, and touched one which was bright red." Then placing his handkerchief like a cushion in his hand he put his other hand into the fire and "took out a large lump of cinder red hot at the lower part, and placed the red part on the handkerchief," where it remained for about half a minute without burning the linen.[2] On another occasion, also in Sir William's presence, "after stirring the hot coal about with his hand" he "took out (from the fireplace) a red-hot piece nearly as big as an orange" which he enclosed between his two hands "and then blew into the small furnace thus extemporized until the lump of charcoal was nearly white-hot, and then drew Sir William's attention to the lambent flame which was flickering over the coal and licking round his fingers."[3] Lord Lindsay during seances with Home eight times held a red-hot coal in his hand without injury, when it scorched his face on raising his hand.[4]

[1] See Podmore, Op. cit., p. 260.
[2] *Proceedings, S. P. R.*, vi:103, 104.
[3] Ibid., 103.
[4] *Dialectical Report*, pp. 208-209.

9. *Production of objects and substances.* This phenomenon consists in what appears to be production of substances in the seance-room, such as fluids, scents, lights, various objects and so forth.

Scents of various descriptions were frequently brought to Mr. Moses' circle. There was musk, verbena, new-mown hay and "spirit-scent," an odour unfamiliar to those present. At times liquid musk, etc., would be poured on the hands or handkerchiefs of the sitters, or heavy breezes of perfume would invade the room. At the end of a seance scent was often found oozing out from the medium's head, and the more it was wiped off the more plentiful it became.[1] Mr. Moses explains[2] that "the scent is either carried, as it seems, round the circle, and it is then accompanied by cool air, or it is sprinkled down from the ceiling of the room in liquid form. . . . . On certain occasions . . . . . the scent is pungent and most painful if it gets into the eye. At other times it is harmless . . . . ."

But not only in the seance-room is the scent produced. Mr. Moses states[3] "that he has been walking with a friend . . . . . into air laden with scent, and through it again into the natural atmosphere," and that he has known cases of scent having been produced and showered down in the open air.

A phenomenon of equal interest present itself in the production of lights and luminous substances in the seance-room. At Moses' seances two kinds of lights were observed—the objective, which were seen by all, and the subjective, which were seen only by persons of mediumistic temperament. The former usually were like small illuminated globes, shining brightly and

[1] Charlton Spear's letter to Myers *in Proceedings, S. P. R.*, ix:346. See also Ibid., xi:32.

[2] *Proceedings, S. P. R.*, ix:271.

[3] *Proceedings, S. P. R.*, ix:270. Showers of a fluid supposed to be water appeared during Prof. Zöllner's experiments with Slade in Leipzig 1877-78, and also fire and smoke; Podmore, *"Studies, etc.,"* p. 71.

steadily and often rapidly moving about the room but never illuminating other objects. Again we quote Charlton Spear:[1] "A curious fact in connection with *these* lights always struck me, viz., that looking on the top of the table one could see a light slowly ascending from the floor, and to all appearances passing out *through* the top of the table, the table itself apparently not affording any obstacle to one's view of the light. . . . . The subjective lights were described as being large masses of luminous vapour, floating round the room and assuming a variety of shapes."

At one of Moses' seances "a pillar of light, very bright and diffused, descended the centre of the table and passed round the circle, vanishing near the ceiling. It was like a flash of light at first."[2]

At another seance Moses sat in the cabinet—being the bathroom closed off with a curtain—Dr. and Mrs. Spear and Mr. H. sitting on a sofa outside. The following then happened:[3] "Lights soon came, whilst I (Moses) was in deep trance. They are described to me as of a pale, soft light which was surrounded apparently with drapery. Mr. H. described it to me as a luminous crystal with a hand holding it. Mentor (a spirit), on being asked whether it was his hand, assented, and showed a gigantic finger before the light. There were about thirty lights. They flashed by with a comet-like motion at times, and then again stood at the opening, gradually fading away."

The luminous appearances observed by Sir William Crookes bear a certain resemblance to those of Moses' seances. The distinguished physicist writes:[4]

"Under the strictest test conditions, I have seen a solid self-luminous body, the size and nearly the shape

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[1] Letter to Myers *in Proceedings, S. P. R.*, ix:345.
[2] *Proceedings, S. P. R.*, ix:311.
[3] Ibid., p. 314.
[4] *Researches in Spiritualism*, p. 91.

of a turkey's egg, float noiselessly about the room, at one time higher than any one present could reach standing on tip-toe, and then gently descend to the floor. It was visible for more than ten minutes, and before it faded away it struck the table three times with a sound like that of a hard, solid body. During this time the medium was lying back, apparently insensible, in an easy chair.

"I have seen luminous points of light darting about and settling on the heads of different persons; I have had questions answered by the flashing of a bright light a desired number of times in front of my face. I have seen sparks of light rising from the table to the ceiling, and again falling upon the table, striking it with an audible sound. I have had an alphabetic communication given by luminous flashes occurring before me in the air, whilst my hand was moving about amongst them. I have seen a luminous cloud floating upwards to a picture. Under the strictest test conditions, I have more than once had a solid, self-luminous, crystalline body placed in my hand by a hand which did not belong to any person in the room. *In the light* I have seen a luminous cloud hover over a heliotrope on a side table, break a sprig off, and carry the sprig to a lady; and on some occasions I have seen a similar luminous cloud visibly condense to the form of a hand and carry small objects about."

Lights were occasionally seen at the Palladino seances, but they were usually of an inconspicuous appearance, "like a will-o'-the-wisp, similar to electric sparks."[1] These lights seldom lasted for more than a few seconds. They were mostly seen in the cabinet. There is a record of a luminous zigzag line shaped like a very tall *N* appearing on the curtain,[2] again, of a pear-shaped gleam in

[1] V. Sardou's report on seance in Paris, Nov. 19, 1898, *in* Flammarion, Op. cit., p. 97.

[2] M. Armelin's report on seance in Paris, Nov. 21, 1898, *in* Ibid., p. 108.

the ceiling[1] and of "a large white star of the colour of Vega, though larger and of a softer light, and which rests motionless for some seconds, then is extinguished."[2] At Politi's seances there were lights appearing and disappearing in the air, some of which gave the outline of a curve, and two luminous crosses about four inches high.[3] It should be noted that for the most part the so-called "spirit lights" did not give any radiation.

10. *Materialization.* Apparitions as such are not proper to Spiritism but have always formed an experience in human life. Generally speaking they consist in phantoms, be it of persons still living, of those departed or of beings recognized as angels, men, demons or simply as spirits of unidentified character.

The apparitions properly belonging to Spiritism are of far narrower compass, being limited to what is claimed to be phantoms of the departed. They may be visible to several persons or to all those present, again they may be visible but to one individual in the company. The individual apparitions give the impression of being of a subjective rather than of an objective character, and would suggest hallucinatory effects in the subject rather than images obtained by sense perception; be they what they may, their place is evidently among psychical phenomena. The same, undoubtedly, is true of certain collective apparitions.

However, apparitions seen by all or several participants in a seance are usually identified with what the Spiritists call "materialized" spirit forms, an expression which must be understood in the light of the spiritistic theory of the nature of the human soul with its astral substance. The materialized spirit form usually has a very human appearance, moves about the room, speaks

[1] V. Sardou's report as above.
[2] M. Armelin's report as above.
[3] Flammarion, Op. cit., p. 371.

and at times even allows itself to be touched by the sitters. On more rare occasions there have been collective apparitions of far less material looking beings—the p h a n t o m being shadowy and semi-transparent. Whether or not such apparitions be objective, investigation may some day show. In the present classification we judge only from appearances.

The materialization phenomena proper consist in apparitions of hands, arms, busts and whole human bodies, sometimes transparent or luminous, sometimes most realistically life-like. To frequenters of spiritistic seances they are a familiar spectacle, and examples could be adduced *ad libitum*. But for reasons which later will be set forth, we shall seek our illustrations only among phenomena produced during well controlled seances. Sir William Crookes relates some instances of having seen hands,[1] thus, v. g., "a beautifully-formed small hand rose up from an opening in the dining-table and gave (him) a flower," appearing and disappearing three times. On another occasion, "a small hand and arm, like a baby's, appeared playing about a lady who was sitting next to (him). It then passed to (him) and patted (his) arm and pulled (his) coat several times." He goes on to say: "The hands and fingers do not always appear to me to be solid and life-like. Sometimes, indeed, they present more the appearance of a nebulous cloud partly condensed into the form of a hand. This is not equally visible to all present. For instance, a flower or other small object is seen to move; one person present will see a luminous cloud hovering over it, another will detect a nebulous-looking hand, while others will see nothing at all but the moving flower. I have more than once seen, first, an objective move, then a luminous cloud appear to form about it, and, lastly, the cloud condense into shape and become a perfectly-formed hand. At this stage the hand is visible to all present. It is not always a mere form, but sometimes

[1] *Researches in Spiritualism*, p. 92.

appears perfectly life-like and graceful, the fingers moving and the flesh apparently as human as that of any in the room. At the wrist, or arm, it becomes hazy, and fades off into a luminous cloud.

"To the touch, the hand sometimes appears icy cold and dead, at other times, warm and life-like, grasping my own with the firm pressure of an old friend."

This description is significant in that it shows a transition and connection between the phenomenon we have described under the name of apport, and those of materialization and production of luminous substances.

Similar phenomena are abundantly recorded from Eusapia Palladino's many seances. Faces and hands were often seen. Once it was a "small hand, like that of a little girl of fifteen years, the palm forward, the fingers joined, the thumb projecting. The color of this hand is livid; its form is not rigid, nor is it fluid; one would say rather that it is the hand of a big doll stuffed with bran." "When the hand moves back from the brighter light, as it disappears—it seems to lose its shape, as if the fingers were being broken, beginning with the thumb."[1]

Another time two hands were simultaneously seen upon the glass panes of a window which was feebly illuminated from the outside. They "exhibited a rapid tremulous motion, but not so rapid as to hinder us from seeing the outline clearly. They were wholly opaque and were thrown upon the window as absolutely black silhouettes."[2] Again, a white hand was seen between the curtains, above the medium's head, and at the same time somebody felt his hair pulled. One of the sitters saw the hand stretched out a second time, touching the shoulder of a gentleman present.[3]

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[1] M. Lévy's report on seance in Paris, Nov. 16, 1898, *in* Flammarion, *Mysterious Psychic Forces*, p. 89.

[2] Flammarion, Op. cit., p. 159.

[3] M. Armelin's report on seances in Paris, Nov. 21, 1898, *in* Flammarion, Op. cit., p. 107.

One night in Milan pieces of cardboard painted with a phosphorescent substance[1] were placed on the seance table and on various chairs in the room. The outline of a hand was then clearly seen on the piece placed on the table while the shadow of a hand kept passing and repassing over the chairs.[2]

We have already referred to the seance at which M. Pallotti and his wife embraced and kissed a being, invisible to the rest of the circle and believed to be their defunct daughter on a spirit visit. A moment before the kisses were heard Professor Flammarion several times saw "the head of a young girl bowing before (him) with high-arched forehead and with long hair."[3]

The silhouette of a young girl of slightly less than average stature was indistinctly seen at the lower end of the cabinet—the curtains having opened themselves. "The head of this apparition was not very distinct. It seemed surrounded by a sort of shaded aureole. The whole form of the statue . . . . . stood out very little from the dim obscurity from which it had emerged; that is to say, it was not very luminous." M. Le Bocain, who saw this apparition and in it thought himself to recognize his sister, asked it in arabic to identify itself by pulling the hair on the back of his head three times. Ten minutes later this was done.[4]

We can not refrain from quoting the following from M. Sully Prudhomme's description of a seance held with Palladino in Auteuil in 1896:[5] "A dark bust moves forward upon the table, coming from where Eusapia sits; then another, and still another. 'They look like Chinese ghosts,' says M. Mangin, with the difference, that I, who am better placed, owing to the

[1] Sulphide of calcium.
[2] Flammarion, Op. cit., p. 159.
[3] Flammarion, Op. cit., p. 128.
[4] M. Le Bocain's report on seance in Paris, Nov. 14, 1898, *in* Flammarion, Op. cit., p. 117.
[5] See Ibid., p. 177.

light from the window, am able to perceive the dimensions of these singular images, and above all their *thickness.* All these black busts are busts of women, of life size; but, although vague, they do not look like Eusapia. The last of them, of fine shape, is that of a woman who seems young and pretty. These half-lengths, which seem to emanate from the medium, glide along between us; and, when they have gone as far as the middle of the table or two-thirds of its length, they sink down altogether (all of a piece, as it were), and vanish. . . . . I murmur, 'One would think he was looking at busts moulded in papier-mache.' Eusapia heard me. 'No, not papier-mache,' she says indignantly. She does not give any other explanation, but says, 'In order to prove to you that it is not the body of the medium, I am going to show you a man with a beard. Attention!' I do not see anything, but Dr. Dariex feels his face rubbed against for quite a while by a beard."

Katie King, the sister of John King, the ghost, has given us abundant material for the study of materialization through the pen of Sir William Crookes, who conducted a series of experiments with her medium Miss Florence Cook, which he describes in his "*Researches in Spiritualism.*" At the first seances[1] a back drawing-room was used as cabinet, i. e., it was separated by means of a curtain from the front room, where the company was sitting.

At the beginning of the seance the medium retired into the cabinet. "After a little time the form Katie appeared at the side of the curtain, but soon retired, saying her medium was not well, and could not be put into a sufficiently deep sleep to make it safe for her to be left. I was sitting within a few feet of the curtain close behind which Miss Cook was sitting and could frequently hear her moan and sob, as if in pain. . . . . .

[1] Op. cit., p. 103.

I admit that the figure was startlingly life-like and real, and, as far as I could see in the somewhat dim light, the features resembled those of Miss Cook; but still the positive evidence of one of my own senses that the moan came from Miss Cook in the cabinet, whilst the figure was outside, is too strong to be upset by a mere inference to the contrary, however well supported."

On another occasion:[1] ". . . . after Katie had been walking amongst us and talking for some time, she retreated behind the curtain which separated my laboratory, where the company was sitting, from my library, which did temporary duty as a cabinet. In a minute she came to the curtain and called me to her, saying, 'Come into the room and lift my medium's head up, she has slipped down.' Katie was then standing before me clothed in her usual white robes and turban head-dress." Sir William then walked into the cabinet and found Miss Cook, dressed in black velvet, in a trance having slipped partially from the sofa. Three seconds elapsed between his seeing Katie and the medium.

Later Katie was seen behind Miss Cook, who was crouching on the floor.[2] Sir William having on one occasion embraced the ghost Katie states that she "was as material a being as Miss Cook herself."[3] To make sure that Katie was not impersonated by Miss Cook, Sir William had a photograph of himself and Katie taken, and later, on the same spot of the floor and with identical arrangement of posture, cameras, light, etc., another photograph of himself and Miss Cook dressed like Katie. "When these two pictures are placed over each other," Sir William writes,[4] "the two photographs of myself coincide exactly as regards stature, etc., but

[1] "*Researches, etc.*," p. 105.
[2] Ibid., pp. 106-107.
[3] Ibid., p. 106.
[4] Ibid., p. 110.

Katie is half a head taller than Miss Cook, and looks a big woman in comparison with her." Other differences are noted in the breadth of her face and on several other points.

The closing seance was very dramatic. We quote Sir William:[1] "When the time came for Katie to take her farewell I asked that she would let me see the last of her. Accordingly when she had called each of the company up to her and had spoken to them a few words in private, she gave some general directions for the future guidance and protection of Miss Cook" . . . . (she then) "invited me into the cabinet with her, and allowed me to remain there to the end."

"After closing the curtain she conversed with me for some time, and then walked across the room to where Miss Cook was lying senseless on the floor. Stooping over her, Katie touched her, and said, 'Wake up Florrie, wake up! I must leave you now!' Miss Cook then woke and tearfully entreated Katie to stay a little time longer. 'My dear, I can't; my work is done. God bless you,' Katie replied, and then continued speaking to Miss Cook. For several minutes the two were conversing with each other, till at last Miss Cook's tears prevented her speaking. Following Katie's instructions I then came forward to support Miss Cook, who was falling on to the floor, sobbing hysterically. I looked round, but the white-robed Katie had gone."

Sir William had observed Katie carefully, in strong electric light, and found certain differences between her and the medium, such as marks on Miss Cook's face absent on Katie's, different colour of hair—Katie's was of a rich, golden auburn, and Sir William cut a lock of it which he kept—and so on. He says:[2] "I have the most absolute certainty that Miss Cook and Katie are two separate individuals so far as their bodies are concerned."

[1] "*Researches, etc.,*" p. 111.
[2] Ibid., p. 110.

A somewhat parallel case to Katie King's is found in that of Bien Boa—the materialized spirit of an Oriental warrior in white draperies and with a helmet on his head, who appeared during a succession of seances held in 1905 in a small pavilion belonging to the "Villa Carmen" in Algiers.[1] M. Richet tells us that this martial phantom, which would develop from a white ball before the cabinet curtain, and disappear in the same manner, was in possession of all attributes of life, that he had seen it walk, and go and come in the room, that he had heard the sound of its footsteps, its breathing and its voice. It was successfully photographed. The medium was Mlle. B. ——, the nineteen-year-old daughter of a retired army officer.

Phenomena of this kind have been very frequent with mediums operating from a cabinet. It should be noted that when the medium remains—or does she not?—in the cabinet the exceedingly life-like phantom is produced, whereas the nebulous, shadowy or transparent phantom is seen when, as in the case of Palladino, the medium sits in the seance-room outside the cabinet. There are instances of phantoms seen by one or a few individuals, appearing in a room without a cabinet. These, we think, should rather be recorded among psychical phenomena. To draw a sharp line of distinction between phantoms of the two orders would be impossible without involving preconceived ideas as to their production.

11. *Impressions* in clay, putty or other plastic substances of hands, fingers and faces have not seldom been witnessed at spiritistic seances. Such impressions are usually claimed to represent the features of a spirit, and so far as those of faces are concerned they at times strongly suggest the gargoyle rather than the species of humanity one is pleased to meet.

[1] *The Annals of Psychical Science*, Oct. and Nov., 1905.

The phenomenon is usually linked to materialization seances and not rarely is the impression obtained inside the cabinet. It shows very little variation, and we shall content ourselves with giving a few examples from the Palladino seances.

In the course of Professor Flammarion's experiments with this famous medium a tray of putty weighing about nine pounds was placed on a chair twenty inches behind the cabinet curtain in front of which Eusapia was sitting. The chair then moved forward above the head of the medium and sitters and came to rest on the head of one of the latter whose husband received the tray with putty softly deposited upon his head. Suddenly Eusapia, rising, cries out, *"E fatto,"* and, the lights having been turned on, those present were able to discover the profile of a human face impressed in the putty, a photographic reproduction of which shows a striking likeness with Mme. Palladino. It should be added that the gentleman on whose head the putty had been deposited had felt no pressure upon the tray to indicate that an impression was being made, and that a lady sitter immediately after the experiment kissed the medium upon both cheeks without perceiving the odour of linseed oil.[1]

We refer to another instance. It was at a dark seance, and Eusapia's head was resting heavily upon that of Dr. Ochorowicz, who writes:[2] "At the moment of the production of the phenomenon a convulsive trembling shook her whole body, and the pressure of her head on my temples was so intense that it hurt me. At the moment when the strongest convulsion took place, she cried, *'Ah, che dura!'* We at once lighted a

[1] Flammarion, "*Mysterious Psychic Forces,*" pp. 74-76; reproduction of the impression and photograph of E. P. opposite page 76. For other prints received at seances with the same medium see Op. cit. opposite p. 138, cfr. Flournoy, "*Spiritism and Psychology,*" p. 256. For other instances see Op. cit., pp. 22, 163, 184.

[2] "*The Externalization of Motivity,*" p. 406.

candle and found a print, rather poor in comparison with those which other experimenters have obtained—a thing due, perhaps, to the bad quality of the clay which I used. This clay was placed about twenty inches to the right of the medium, while her head was inclined to the left. Her face was not at all soiled by the clay, which was yet so moist as to leave traces upon the fingers when touched."

The tray was then placed on the dining-room table near a big kerosene lamp and Eusapia, in trance, having remained for some moments at the table, moved backward into the adjoining seance-room, the experimenters following her. "We had already got into the chamber," Dr. Ochorowicz continues, "when, leaning against one of the halves of the double door, she fixed her eyes upon the tray of clay which had been left upon the table. The medium was in a very good light: we were separated from her by a distance of from six to ten feet, and we perceived distinctly all the details. All of a sudden Eusapia stretched her hand out abruptly toward the clay, then sank down uttering a groan. We rushed precipitately towards the table and saw, side by side with the imprints of the head, a new imprint, very marked, of a hand which had been thus produced under the very light of the lamp, and which resembled the hand of Eusapia."

Impressions of hands and fingers have also been received on paper blackened with the smoke of a lamp. The prepared paper was placed on the table opposite the medium whose two hands were held each by a member of the circle. Not only were impressions of fingers and of a whole human hand obtained in the lamp black, but upon request the soot was transferred to and rubbed over the hand of one of the controllers while the medium's hands remained perfectly clean. It was possible to constate that the impressions received had a

striking resemblance to Eusapia's hands and fingers—the fingerprints being exactly hers.[1]

12. *Spirit-photography.* There have been few professional spirit-photographers of note, although, no doubt, the art has been practiced to some extent in private circles. Mr. Raupert in his *"Dangers of Spiritualism"*[2] reproduces four spirit-photographs, the first showing a cloud-like formation near the human image, the other three a more or less clear figure of a woman and a man draped in sheets. Others may be seen in H. Carrington's "The Physical Phenomena of Spiritualism."[3] The following is a description of a photograph taken in Mr. Parks' studio:[4] "It was taken on a plate freshly purchased, and which had never been in Mr. Parks' possession. The plate had been prepared and placed in the shield, when a photographer who was present requested that it might be taken out and turned upside down before exposure. This was done, and, on developing the plate, a rude outline of a figure, composed of *two* busts, appears; the busts pointing in opposite directions."

Among spirit-photographs a certain number has been recognized as likenesses of deceased persons, but these cases are comparatively rare.[5] In 1874 Buguet took a photograph of Mr. Moses while in trance lying in his bed. Two exposures were made; the first—being the first half of the plate—showed hardly discernible features, while the second gave a good effigy of Moses. But

[1] Statement concerning the Milan sittings 1892, *in* Flammarion, Op. cit., p. 158.

[2] pp. 67, 70, 72 and 74.

[3] See list of Illustrations.

[4] Mrs. Sidgwick on Spirit-photographs *in Proceedings, S. P. R.*, vii:270 et seq.; cfr. *Human Nature*, Apr. 1875, p. 157.

[5] Mr. Moses in *Human Nature*, June 1876, p. 268, states that "out of some six hundred photographs which I have seen and examined, and of most of which I have heard the history, I do not know of half a dozen in which the expected form appeared."

a voice, which used to communicate with Moses, later informed him that the first picture was a photograph of the ghostly owner of that voice as he—or it?—looked in life.[1]

There are some famous cases of this phenomenon such as the photograph taken in the library of D-Hall on the day of Lord D.'s funeral, which, on being developed six months later, showed the image and likeness of Lord D.[2] For literature on the subject see Mrs. Sidgwick's article in the *Proceedings*.[3]

13. *Direct spirit-messages.* The original means of communication with spirits was found in the so-called rappings which throughout the movement have continued to constitute the principal conveyor of messages. The raps may be taken to indicate an affirmative answer to simple questions, a series of raps to indicate a number or, again, the alphabet system may be used, in which the receiver of a rap-message lets his finger glide from letter to letter on a printed alphabet. When it passes the letter which the "communicator" wishes to indicate a rap is heard and a note of the letter is then taken. In this fashion the message is spelled out letter after letter. Doubt or emphasis is sometimes expressed by faintness or vehemence in the raps. A peculiar form of rap messages is found in so-called "spirit-telegraphy."

Spirit-writing, however, furnishes a more satisfactory means of communication than the rap-method. There are different kinds of spirit-writing, the various phenomena falling into two groups, direct and indirect. The direct writing, to all appearances, is performed without an intermediary, the spirits themselves producing the script, whereas the indirect writing is performed

[1] *Proceedings, S. P. R.*, vii:287-288.
[2] Podmore, "*Modern Spiritualism*," vol. II, p. 124.
[3] *Proceedings, S. P. R.*, vii:269 et seq.

through an intermediary, i. e., the medium, acting as amanuensis. We shall treat in this chapter of direct writing alone, the indirect properly belonging to the psychic phenomena.

Direct spirit-writing takes several forms. The spirits write their messages either on a slip of paper placed in the seance-room, or on slates, or, again, by employing the planchette.

The first kind of writing is very common, and was a frequent occurrence at W. Stainton-Moses' seances. In his letter to Myers, Mr. Charlton T. Spear writes:[1] "Direct writing was often given, sometimes on a sheet of paper placed in the center of the table and equidistant from all the sitters; at other times one of us would place our hands on a piece of paper previously dated and initialed, and usually a message was found written upon it at the conclusion of the seance. We always placed a pencil upon the paper, but sometimes we only provided a small piece of lead, the result being the same in both cases. Usually the writing took the form of answering questions which we had asked. . . ."

At a seance in 1872[2] held by Moses in the presence of Dr. and Mrs. Spear a piece of ruled paper with a corner torn off for identification and a pencil were put on the floor under the table. Various raps and a noise "rather like sawing wood" were heard and objects brought into the room, and at the end of the seance, the lights having been turned on, the paper when picked up was found to contain a message exactly following the ruling.

At another seance Moses relates:[3] "I had seen a veiled figure standing by Dr. Spear. Mrs. Spear could see the light, but could not distinguish the figure. It

[1] *Proceedings, S. P. R.*, ix:347.

[2] Sept. 19th. See *Proceedings, S. P. R.*, ix:285, with fac-simile of the message.

[3] *Proceedings, S. P. R.*, xi:32-33.

did not seem to move, and was apparently outside the circle, near the window curtains. . . . . Presently distinctive raps came on the table, and 'Charles Louis Napoleon Bonaparte, I salute you,' was rapped out. Dr. S. questioned the spirit in French, and answers were returned correctly. A curious instance of this was as follows: Dr. S. intended to ask the name of Napoleon's mother, but by mistake asked for his wife's name. This was given, a response not to the mental intent, but to the spoken question. . . . . Dr. S. asked for some direct writing on one of the two marked papers, and assent was given, 'J'écrirai. Taisez-vous!' Mentor controlled, and said that it was really the spirit of Napoleon, late Emperor of the French. They would write on the paper near Dr. Spear's foot, that being nearest to where the figure had been standing. After his control passed I was, as is frequently the case, clairvoyant, and described the face of the Emperor, his waxed imperial and moustache, his impressive marble face, and wound up by saying he was a 'regular Mephistopheles.' The form was just in the same place, and apparently could not come within the circle. Mentor was at my right hand, and rapped clearly at request with his double knock. All this time our hands were joined, and remained so until the seance closed, and we found on the paper close by Dr. Spear's foot writing of which I append a *fac-simile.*"

There are many instances of writing obtained in languages supposedly unknown to the medium. Baron de Guldenstubbé obtained writing in Latin, Greek, Russian, French, German, English, etc., the writers being spirits of greatest fame, such as Mary Stuart, St. Paul, Cicero, Melchisedec, Plato and Juvenal.[1]

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[1] "La Réalité des Esprits et le phénomène merveilleux et leur écriture direct," quoted by Podmore *in* "*Modern Spiritualism*," vol. II, pp. 188-189.

Sir William Crookes relates some interesting facts about spirit-writing.[1] At a dark seance, Miss Kate Fox being the medium, a luminous hand came down from the upper part of the room, took the pencil from his hand and began to write on a sheet of paper. At another seance held in daylight a pencil, which had been placed together with paper on the table, suddenly stood up and advanced by hesitating jerks to the paper, where it fell down exhausted. A lath now began to move and apparently came to its aid, but in spite of their combined efforts the couple of them did not succeed in producing a message.

Slate-writing came to prominence through Mr. Slade, who had many followers in the art, notably Mr. Eglinton. The sittings at which the writing is produced often take place in broad daylight and the script is received on an ordinary school-slate or on the inside of a double slate fitted with hinges and lock. Mr. S. J. Davey records the following experiences with Mr. Eglinton:[2] "I procured two ordinary slates at a stationer's shop, and these did not leave my possession during the seance. At first we obtained messages by simply putting a piece of slate-pencil on one slate and holding the slate on the table. After a while the force became stronger, and messages with various styles of writing were received. But the best test of all was when I put a crumb of pencil on the slate, and then put another slate over that; holding the two slates together myself, I then asked if I should ever become a medium. No sooner was the question asked than I heard the pencil within begin to move; . . . . and in a few seconds three small raps were heard, and . . . . when I removed the upper slate I found the following message written in a clear and good hand. I was particular to notice that the small crumb of pencil was nearly worn out. . . . ."

[1] "*Researches, etc.,*" p. 93.
[2] *Journal, S. P. R.*, 1886, p. 436.

At another sitting:[1] "Between the famous slate presented to Mr. Eglinton by a distinguished personage, with a strong Brahma lock securely fastened by myself, we obtained messages in the well-known handwriting of (the spirit) Joey." Later at the same sitting messages in Greek were given.

Planchette-writing is done with a small, oval wooden board having a pencil stuck through a hole at one end. It is placed on a table with point of the pencil on a sheet of paper. Sometimes two or more, sometimes one person alone, by placing the hands lightly on the instrument will cause it to move, leaving writing or drawing on the paper. The following account is taken from the *Proceedings:*[2]

"On January 28 last I called at the house of some friends; and on this occasion there was some planchette writing. . . . . Some four or five of us sat around a table in a full and well-lighted room. The operator of the planchette was a lady; her husband was at the table. . . . . Different communications were received by different ones at the table . . . . from different friends (as the Spiritualists say), who have passed into the spirit world." Among other messages received there was one from the sister of the narrator, who died in infancy and neither could have been known by the medium, nor had been in the narrator's mind for years. The message as written out by the planchette read: "Mr. Lewis, I am his sister, I am glad you came here to-night; come again (signed) Angeline." Examples of this kind could be multiplied at pleasure.

Spirit-telegraphy has a certain superficial resemblance to wireless telegraphy. The message is sent between two parties sitting in different rooms, one of which is in "rapport" with the operating spirit. At both stations the identical message is received, delivered by

[1] *Journal, S. P. R.*, 1886, p. 437.
[2] *Proceedings, S. P. R.*, ix:64.

means of raps resembling in sound the tickings of a telegraphic apparatus. The distance between the stations is often considerable, messages having been sent between New York and Washington. The following is an account of an early instance, the medium being Mrs. Draper of Rochester:[1] "On the appointed day the above-named persons convened; . . . . and as soon as order was observed, the question was asked, 'What are the directions of Benjamin Franklin?' *A.* 'Hurry; first magnetize Mrs. Draper.' This was done, ... The company was divided as follows: . . . . . (five persons, among whom Mrs. Fox and Catherine Fox), in a retired room, with two doors closed between them. Mrs. Draper, Mr. Draper (two other gentlemen) and Margaretta Fox remained in the parlor. Sounds unusually loud were heard in each room by either company, as before, resembling the telegraphic sounds. They were so unusual that Miss Fox became alarmed, and said, 'What does all this mean?' Mrs. Draper, while her countenance was irradiated with animation, replied, 'He is trying the batteries.' Soon there was the signal for the alphabet, and the following communication was spelled to the company in the parlor: 'Now I am ready, my friends. There will be great changes in the nineteenth century. Things that now look dark and mysterious to you will be laid plain before your sight. Mysteries are going to be revealed. The world will be enlightened. I sign my name, Benjamin Franklin.' "

One of the sitters in the retired room, directed by the sounds, now came in the parlor carrying the message received by his party. It was identical to the one received in the drawing-room, except for the addition, "Go in the parlor and compare notes."

[1] Podmore, "*Modern Spiritualism*," vol. I, pp. 252-253.

14. *Spirit voices.* Spiritists often tell of hearing voices, meaning an "inner voice" not perceived through the air. This phenomenon, however, belongs to the purely psychical group, the "voice" being but a kind of intuition. Spirit-voices, as we here shall employ the term, refers to clearly externalized voices, at least to all appearances perceived with the ear. As in the case of apparitions there are two kinds of spirit-voices, those heard by all present, and those heard only by single individuals in an assembly.

The former kind occurs frequently with physical mediums, usually during more stormy seances, and has a close resemblance to so-called Poltergeist phenomena. We shall content ourselves with referring to Mr. Koons' pre-Adamite spirits who were wont to deliver speeches through a horn or a trumpet or confidentially to whisper in the ears of the sitters.[1] It would be of no particular interest to describe this kind of performance in detail.

The latter kind has a certain resemblance to apparitions of phantoms, but occurs more rarely than these. It is found mainly in connection with psychic mediumship; thus Mrs. Thompson occasionally perceives external voices, which are not heard by those in her presence.[2] A certain lady, we are told by Mr. Myers,[3] could hear human voices and musical sounds by holding a shell to her ear.

[1] See p. 22.
[2] *Proceedings, S. P. R.,* xvii:70.
[3] *Proceedings, S. P. R.,* viii:492.

CHAPTER IV.

Psychical Phenomena.

The purely psychical phenomena of Spiritism may be defined as internal, intelligent and immediate manifestations apparently of an occult agency, directly expressed by the recipient. We call them internal because, in so far as they have a source outside the recipient, they are not conveyed to him through the channels of sense-perception; they are intelligent, because they convey an intelligent message, as it were from an intelligent being outside the recipient to the mind of the recipient, or they even sometimes show an actual usurpation on the part of the outside intelligence of the control over certain faculties of the recipient naturally exercised by his own will. Finally, they are immediate in so far as they require—to all appearances— no medium of transmission between their apparent outside source and the recipient. Their only outward appearance consists in the expression given to them by the external faculties of the recipient.

The phenomena reduce themselves to a few closely allied groups which we shall describe under the headings apparitions, automatic speaking and writing, and crystal gazing. It should be noted that they are not peculiar to Spiritism, for in their essential aspects they are ancient, varying in form and appearance as from time to time they have emerged upon the field of human experience. To a certain extent they are recognized in Mesmerism and especially in the life of Emanuel Swedenborg, and they are exhibited in quarters which disclaim any connection in their regard with spirits. We shall present here only such phenomena as are more commonly observed among spiritistic mediums.

1. *Apparitions.* Collective apparitions of more immaterial looking phantoms belong to the rare phenomena of the seance-room. In dealing with materialization we stated the difficulty in determining whether individual cases of this kind of apparitions should be referred to as physical or as psychical phenomena. Of course, the difficulty lies in determining—on the face of the phenomenon—whether it should be thought to exhibit an objective reality, or whether it should rather be regarded as a subjective reality—a hallucination induced from some source or other. The difficulty is naturally lessened when the apparition is seen by only a minority in the company.[1] We shall present here two cases from Crookes' experiments with D. D. Home, which might be classified under either heading.[2]

"In the dusk of the evening, during a *seance* with Mr. Home at my house, the curtains of a window about eight feet from Mr. Home were seen to move. A dark, shadowy, semi-transparent form, like that of a man, was then seen by all present standing near the window, waving the curtain with his hand. As we looked, the form faded away and the curtains ceased to move."

"The following is a still more striking instance. As in the former case, Mr. Home was the medium. A phantom form came from a corner of the room, took an accordion in its hand, and then glided about the room playing the instrument. The form was visible to all present for many minutes, Mr. Home also being seen at the same time. Coming rather close to a lady who

[1] Certain phantoms of the Palladino seances were seen by a minority, but it should be noted that they could be seen by anybody looking from a particular part of the seance-room. This fact we think would indicate their real objectivity, and that they were visible only from certain parts of the room. We have consequently classified these phenomena as physical.

[2] *"Researches, etc.,"* p. 94.

was sitting apart from the rest of the company, she gave a slight cry, upon which it vanished."

Another example of collective apparition occurred in the house of Mr. Z. where W. L. had been in service as butler for half a year. During this time he on several occasions had seen a certain ghost dressed in brown garments with two tassels at the side. One evening Mr. and Mrs. Z. with a few friends tried table-turning, and W. L. entering the room in which they were sitting again saw the same ghost. "The spirit communicating through the table then promised to appear at 11 P. M. one evening in the drawing-room, and W. L. was requested to be present. The gas was turned low and the drawing-room door left open. As the clock struck 11, 'it' walked slowly in." The dress was the same as seen by W. L. before, apparently of Japanese flowered silk. "The face was haggard-looking, with a long thin nose; the hair fair and hanging over the shoulders." When the gas was turned on the phantom disappeared. Later it indicated to W. L. a spot in the cellar where a treasure was hidden. Investigation failed, however, to reveal the treasure. Among the seven persons present only three saw the figure which appeared at the seances on four separate occasions.[1]

Individual apparitions are sometimes seen by mediums, both physical and psychical. This was often the case with Moses, and we have already related how in connection with the production of "fairy bells" he saw the spirit "Grocyn making the sounds; he stood pointing at the table, and as he pointed the sound was made." He also saw the spirit of Louis Napoleon Bonaparte, who benevolently produced his autograph with pencil and paper.

[1] Podmore, "*Studies, etc.*," pp. 314-315.

Mrs. Thompson,[1] the famous psychic, frequently sees spirits standing in the room, who sometimes, though not always, indicate their identity. At times these figures form life-size scenes. Thus, on a certain occasion, a glove-fight witnessed by Frederic Myers' son at Eaton was partially reproduced by figures appearing behind him.

2. *Automatic speaking and writing* constitute by far the most important and interesting of the psychical phenomena. Both usually occur in trance, in which state apparently other personalities than the normal waking medium control his body and use his organs of speech or employ his hand for writing, thereby showing knowledge of facts which the medium could not have obtained by ordinary means. The phenomena in question are of the utmost importance not only as being the chief means of alleged communication with the departed, but, above all, as constituting the channels through which the spiritistic revelation is given to the world.

W. Stainton-Moses while in trance would deliver spoken messages purporting to come from spirits. These were taken down usually by Dr. Spear, who almost constantly was present at his seances. His automatic writing for the most part took place in the waking state, and for a description we shall refer to the following quotation from his "Spirit Teachings:" [2]

"Automatic writing is a well-known method of communication with the invisible world of what we loosely call spirit. I use that word as the most intelligible to my readers, though I am well aware that I shall be told that I ought not to apply any such term to many of the unseen beings who communicate with earth, of

[1] F. W. H. Myers *in Proceedings, S. P. R.*, xvii:70.
[2] See Preface to that work.

whom we hear much and often as being the *reliquiae* of humanity, the *shells* of what were once *men*. It is no part of my business to enter into this ghost question. My interlocutors call themselves spirits, perhaps because I so call them, and spirits they are to me for my present purposes."

He then goes on to tell how messages began to be written a year after his introduction to Spiritism, and how automatic writing has great advantages over other forms of messages, as being quicker and leaving a permanent record. He procured a pocket book which, for this purpose, he always carried with him. He continues:

"I soon found that writing flowed more easily when I used a book that was permeated with the psychic aura; just as raps were more easily heard on a table that has been frequently used for the purpose, and as phenomena occur most readily in the medium's own room."

"At first the writing was very small and irregular, and it was necessary for me to write slowly and cautiously, and to watch the hand, following the lines with my eye. . . . . In a short time, however, I found that I could dispense with these precautions. The writing, while becoming more and more minute, became at the same time very regular and beautifully formed. . . . . The answers to my questions (written at the top of the page) were paragraphed and arranged as if for the press, and the name of God was always written in capitals and slowly, and, as it seemed, reverentially. The subject matter was always of a pure and elevated character, much of it being of personal application, intended for my own guidance and direction. I may say that throughout the whole of these written communications . . . . . there is no flippant message, no attempt at jest, no vulgarity or incongruity, no false or misleading statement, so far as I know or could discover; nothing incompatible with the avowed object,

again and again repeated, of instruction, enlightenment, and guidance by spirits fitted for the task."

The various controlling spirits showed their individuality in handwriting as well as in literary style. Moses says, "I could tell at once who was writing by the mere characteristics of the caligraphy." When spirits appeared who were unable to produce script they employed "Rector" as an intermediary.

"The circumstances under which the messages were written were infinitely varied. As a rule it was necessary that I should be isolated, and the more passive my mind the more easy the communications. But I have received messages under all sorts of conditions." . . . .

"It is an interesting subject for speculation. Whether my own thoughts entered into the subject matter of the communications, I took extraordinary pains to prevent any such admixture. At first the writing was slow, and it was necessary for me to follow it with my eye, but even then the thoughts were not my thoughts. Very soon the messages assumed a character of which I had no doubt whatever that the thought was opposed to my own. But I cultivated the power of occupying my mind with other things during the time that the writing was going on, and was able to read an abstruse book, and follow out a line of close reasoning while the message was written with unbroken regularity. Messages so written extended over many pages, and in their course there is no correction, no fault in composition, and often a sustained vigor and beauty of style."

The mass of ideas contained in the writing not only conveyed opinions opposed to those of Mr. Moses, but clear and definite information regarding things unknown to him. He could not command the writing, but had to follow impulses. "Where the messages were in regular course," he writes, "I was accustomed to devote the first hour of each day to sitting for their reception. I rose early, and the beginning of the day was spent,

in a room that I used for no other purpose, in what was to all intents and purposes a religious service. These writings frequently came then, but I could by no means reckon upon them."

The following is an account of "Rector" quoting from a book unknown to Mr. Moses:[1]

Q. Can you read?

A. "No, friend, I can not, but Zachary Gray can, and Rector. I am not able to materialize myself, or to command the elements."

Q. Are either of those spirits here?

A. "I will bring one by and by. I will send . . . . Rector is here."

Q. I am told you can read. Is that so? Can you read a book?

A. (Spirit handwriting changed.) "Yes, friend, with difficulty."

Q. Will you write for me the last line of the first book of the Æneid?

A. "Wait—Omnibus errantem terris et fluctibus aestas." (This was right.)

Q. Quite so. But I might have known it. Can you go to the book case, take the last book but one on the second shelf, and read me the last paragraph of the ninety-fourth page? I have not seen it and do not even know its name.

A. "I will curtly prove by a short historical narrative, that Popery is a novelty and has gradually arisen or grown up since the primitive and pure time of Christianity, not only since the apostolic age, but even since the lamentable union of kirk and state by Constantine."

(The book on examination proved to be a queer one called *"Roger's Antipopopriestian,* an attempt to liberate and purify Christianity from Popery, Politi-

[1] *Proceedings, S. P. R.,* xi:106-107.

kirkality, and Priestrule." The extract given above was accurate, but the word "narrative" substituted for "account.")

Q. How came I to pitch upon so appropriate a sentence?

A. "I know not, my friend. It was by coincident. The word was changed by error. I knew it when it was done, but would not change."

Q. How do you read? You wrote more slowly, and by fits and starts.

A. "I wrote what I remembered, and then I went for more. It is a special effort to read, and useful only as a test. Your friend was right last night; we can read, but only when conditions are very good. We will read once again, and write and then impress you of the book:—'Pope is the last great writer of that school of poetry, the poetry of the intellect, or rather of the intellect mingled with fancy.' That is truly written. Go and take the eleventh book on the same shelf. (I took a book called *"Poetry, Romance, and Rhetoric."*) It will open at the page for you. Take it and read, and recognize our power, and the permission which the great and good God gives us, to show you of our power over matter. To Him be glory. Amen."

(The book opened at page 145, and there was the quotation perfectly true. I had not seen the book before; certainly had no idea of its contents.)

It is to be remembered that Rector often constitutes the intermediary through whom other spirits purport to communicate. Mr. Moses was satisfied with the identity of many of these spirits, proof of which he sets forth in his *"Spirit Identity"* published in 1879.[1] Out of the great mass of script we quote the following case which

[1] See *Proceedings, S. P. R.*, xi:69 et seq.

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was described by Mr. Moses to Edmund Gurney and Frederic Myers, while it was still fresh, on their first meeting with him in 1874.[1]

"On the evening of April 8th, 1874, while at Bedford with his father and mother, Mr. Moses, who had been receiving messages about ancient religions during the day, began to ask a question. 'I should 1____,' when a meaningless drawing was made in place of intended words."

Q. What is all that? And why was I stopped?

A. "A spirit wishes to communicate, and we are commanded to permit her. She is not able to write with ease, but will communicate through us. Her name is Fanny Westoby. Do you know the name?"

Q. I do not remember.

A. "Your mother knows her well. She is a cousin of hers. She passed from your earth May 15th last."

Q. Was she married?

A. "Yes, her maiden name was Kirkham."

Q. Fanny Kirkham. Yes, I have a dim remembrance. She used to live at Markby.

A. "She says that she was born in Alford, in the house now occupied by Sam Stevenson. She then lived at Markby, and, having married, at Belchford. She passed away at Horncastle, at 63 years of age. You do not remember her, when, in the year 1845, you went to see her at Markby. Her mother, Elizabeth Kirkham, was then just released from a lingering illness, and your mother had gone to condole with her cousin. You were taken round the farm, and rode on a goat (she is anxious on this point), and she threw you in sport into a heap of wheat which was being threshed. The result was that you were severely bitten by the harvest bug. She is very anxious that you should recall this to your mother."

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[1] Book VIII, pp. 78-83; cfr. Myers, "*Human Personality*," vol. II, pp. 599-600.

Q. I will. But is it wise?

A. "You will not be able to induce her to search into this matter, but you may satisfy yourself that what is said is true."

Q. Has she any message?

A. "She says, 'I lost much of my opportunity for progress through the gratification of bodily appetite, which cast me back. My course of progress is yet to come. I find my present life not very different from yours. I am nearly the same. I wish I could influence Mary, but I can't get near her.' "

Q. Can she assure me that she is F. W.?

A. "She can give you no further evidence. Stay, ask your father about Donnington and the trap-door."

Q. I have not the least idea what she means. All the better. I will ask. Any more? Is she happy?

A. "She is as happy as may be in her present state."

Q. How did she find me out?

A. "She came by chance, hovering near her friend (*i. e.*, Mrs. Moses), and discovered that she could communicate. She will return now."

Q. Can I help her?

A. "Yes, pray. She and all of us are helped when you devote your talents willingly to aid us."

Q. What do you mean?

A. "In advocating and advancing our mission with care and judgment. Then we are permeated with joy. May the Supreme bless you." "+Rector."

The exact particulars of the communication as relating to Fanny Westoby and the trap-door were verified by Mr. and Mrs. Moses, and her death was also verified in the Register of Deaths.

A rather striking message received by Mr. Moses is related by Frederic Myers[1] whose knowledge of the

[1] "*Human Personality*," vol. II, pp. 230-234, and *Proceedings, S. P. R.*, xi:96 et seq.

soi-disant communicator and of incidents in the case renders it the more interesting. At the death of Mr. Moses one of his MS. books marked "Private Matter" was placed in Myers' hands. The pages were gummed down and when opening them he found a brief piece of writing entirely characteristic of a certain person of his former acquaintance whom he designated as 'Lady Abercromby,' and who had died some twenty-five years previously. This note was found to form the conclusion of a series of writing signed by Mentor and Rector and beginning with some obscure drawings, apparently representing the flight of a bird. The communication began in answer to a written question as to the meaning of the drawings:

A. "It is a spirit who has but just quitted the body. Blanche Abercromby in the flesh. I have brought her. No more. M."

No further reply was given. There was a note indicating that the message had been received on a certain Sunday night about midnight. On the following Monday morning the message was continued:

Q. I wish for information about last night. Is that true? Was it Mentor?

A. "Yes, good friend, it was Mentor, who took pity on a spirit that was desirous to reverse former errors. She desires us to say so. She was ever an inquiring spirit, and was called suddenly from your earth. She will rest anon. One more proof has been now given of continuity of existence. Be thankful and meditate with prayer. Seek not more now, but cease. We do not wish you to ask any questions now.

+I:S:D:X Rector."

A week later more script appeared in which the conditions causing the presence of spirits was discussed. This is also signed by Rector. And a few days later the

writing which first drew Myers' attention, and which exhibited the handwriting of 'Lady Abercromby:'

A. "A spirit who has before communicated will write for you herself. She will then leave you, having given the evidence that is required."

"I should much like to speak more with you, but it is not permitted. I know but little yet. I have much, much to learn.—Blanche Abercromby."

"It is like my writing as evidence to you."

First it must be noted that Moses hardly knew the lady in question, having met her only at a few seances. He could have had no knowledge of her death which occurred about 200 miles from London in the afternoon the same Sunday on which the first script appeared, and was announced for the first time in the following Monday's *Times*. Her handwriting was clearly recognized by Myers, and its identity and that of the script verified by her son and others.

We shall now pass to Mrs. Piper's automatic utterances and script as being fairly typical of the best production of automatism. She will fall into a trance for the duration of which she is "controlled" apparently by other intelligences than her own normal waking Self, and these utilize her bodily organs of speech or employ her hand for writing, showing a knowledge which is beyond what she could obtain by ordinary means. Furthermore, they present themselves as distinct personalities purporting to be the spirits of departed human beings speaking from their own memory and experience or conveying messages from friends of the sitters, now departed from earthly life and living in the beyond.

Phinuit, Mrs. Piper's earliest control, exclusively employed her voice for his communications. While in control he would most vividly exhibit his own personality, not only in style of language which was that of a French-

man speaking English, but also in voice which was his own and not that of the normal Mrs. Piper. The trance-utterances, then, distinctly belong to Phinuit—be he spirit, secondary personality, or a manifestation of Mrs. Piper's subliminal self—and will consequently be referred to as his, not the medium's.

The sitters were usually, in so far as could be ascertained, previously unknown to Mrs. Piper, and they were never introduced to her by their real names, and consequently, at least during first sittings, it would be impossible for her to draw on ordinary sources of information. The seance would usually take the form of a dialogue between Phinuit and the sitter in which he would make mention of the latter's relatives and friends, and answer questions regarding them. Often he would enumerate the various members of the sitter's family, give an account of their full name and relationship, their character, features, dress, occupation and incidents in their life. There would be information regarding the living as well as those departed, in both cases given with equal vividness, accuracy and copiousness of detail. Phinuit would act as a narrator, and only in rare cases would he give place to some one departed allowing him or her to speak through his medium. He would tell of the present condition of the departed—what they now looked like, wherewith they were occupied, whether they were happy and so forth.

At times the statements were perfectly clear, and given in a straight-forward manner without hesitation, and this especially when a letter from or an object which had been in possession of or in contact with the subject under discussion was presented to Phinuit, who would hold it against his medium's forehead. Some statements, on the other hand, were rather confused, and while making them he would allow himself considerable fishing. Again, some statements would be correct even in detail, while others in certain details or even as to their

whole substance were found quite incorrect and sometimes unintelligible.[1]

The G. P., or George Pelham, control[2] which introduced writing in the place of speaking, appeared in 1892. The person designated by this assumed name was a young lawyer well known to Dr. Hodgson, who had used to discuss with him questions of philosophy, and especially that of the possibility of future life which G. P. could not accept. Before his death in 1892, which was known by Hodgson a few days after it occurred, he had held one single sitting with Mrs. Piper, at which he presented himself incognito. She could not very well have known him through other ordinary sources.

Four or five weeks after G. P.'s death John Hart[3] held sittings with Mrs. Piper in the course of which Phinuit exclaimed: "There is another George who wants to speak to you—how many Georges are there about you anyhow?" The 'other George' purported to be G. P., and gave his and John Hart's names correctly, and also mentioned the name of persons who had been G. P.'s friends in his short earth life.

One of the pair of studs worn by John Hart was given to Phinuit and the following conversation ensued, Phinuit speaking for G. P.:[4]

J. H. "Who gave them to me?"

G. P. "That's mine. I gave you that part of it. I sent that to you."

J. H. "When?"

G. P. "Before I came here. That's mine. Mother gave you that."

J. H. "No."

G. P. "Well, father then. Father and mother together. You got those after I passed out. Mother

[1] See Hodgson *in Proceedings, S. P. R.*, vi:436-650; viii:1-67; xiii:284-295; 413-582.

[2] See Hodgson *in Proceedings, S. P. R.*, xiii:295-582.

[3] Assumed name.

[4] *Proceedings, S. P. R.*, xiii:297.

took them. Gave them to father, and father gave them to you. I want you to keep them. I will them to you."

Mr. Hart notes that the studs were sent to him by G. P.'s father, and that he afterwards ascertained that they had been taken from G. P.'s body by his stepmother, who suggested that they should be sent to him.

James and Mary Howard, two intimate friends of G. P., were mentioned with strongly personal specific references, and G. P. gave a message to their daughter Katherine: "Tell her, she'll know. I will solve the problems, Katherine." Later Mr. Hart explained that the message at the time was quite meaningless to him, but that he subsequently learned from James Howard that G. P. frequently had used to talk with Katherine on such subjects as Time, Space, God and Eternity, pointing out to her how unsatisfactory commonly accepted solutions were.[1]

A few weeks after the appearance of G. P., sittings were held with the Howards, who were not predisposed to take an interest in such matters but had been persuaded by Mr. Hart to give Mrs. Piper a trial. We quote from Mr. Howard's notes taken during the first sitting on April 11th, 1892,[2] G. P. apparently controlling the voice directly:

G. P. "Jim, is that you? Speak to me quick. I am not dead. Don't think me dead. I am awfully glad to see you. Can't you see me? Don't you hear me? Give my love to my father and tell him I want to see him. I am happy here, and more so since I find I can communicate with you. I pity those people who can't speak. . . . . I want you to know I think of you still. I spoke to John about some letters. I left things terribly mixed, my books and my papers; you will forgive me for this, won't you? . . . ."

[1] *Proceedings, S. P. R.*, xiii:297-298.
[2] Ibid., pp. 300 et seq.

(What do you do, George, where are you?)

G. P. "I am scarcely able to do anything yet; I am just awakened to the reality of life after death. It was like darkness. I could not distinguish anything at first. Darkest hour just before dawn, you know that, Jim. I was puzzled, confused. Shall have an occupation soon. Now I can see you, my friends. I can hear you speak. Your voice, Jim, I can distinguish with your accent and articulation, but it sounds like a big bass drum. Mine would sound to you like the faintest whisper. . . . ."

(Were you not surprised to find yourself living?)

G. P. "Perfectly so. Greatly surprised I did not believe in a future life. It was beyond my reasoning powers. Now it is as clear to me as daylight. We have an astral fac-simile of the material body . . . . Jim, what are you writing now?"

(Nothing of any importance.)

G. P. "Why don't you write about this?"

(I would like to, but the expression of my opinions would be nothing. I must have facts.)

G. P. "These I will give to you and to Hodgson if he is still interested in these things."

(Will people know about this possibility of communication?)

G. P. "They are sure to in the end. It is only a question of time when people in the material body will know all about it, and every one will be able to communicate. . . . . I want all the fellows to know about me . . . ."

Here follow references to several friends, to a tin box containing letters and so on. Finally G. P. was asked two questions: What was the purpose of the association he had formed two years ago with Miss Helen Vance and two other ladies, and, who were the two ladies in question. G. P. appeared confused and gave wrong answers. But Phinuit now seemed to have

taken control of the voice. As regards references to persons, incidents, characters, etc., in the preceding dialogue, they were, in so far as could be ascertained, correct.[1]

Mr. Howard, although deeply impressed with the feeling that he had communicated with the departed G. P., remained unconvinced until the eleventh sitting held towards the end of December the same year, when he asked for some convincing proof in form of something known to him and G. P. alone. Mrs. Piper was in deep trance, her body inert and lifeless with exception of the right hand, which was writing persistently and fiercely in answer to Mr. Howard's request. Mr. Hodgson, who was taking notes, makes the following comment:[2]

"Several statements were read by me, and assented to by Mr. Howard, and then was written 'private' and the hand gently pushed me away. I retired to the other side of the room, and Mr. Howard took my place close to the hand where he could read the writing. He did not, of course, read it aloud, and it was too private for my perusal. The hand, as it reached the end of each sheet, tore it off from the block book, and thrust it wildly at Mr. Howard, and then continued writing. The circumstances narrated, Mr. Howard informed me, contained precisely the kind of test for which he had asked, and he said that he was 'perfectly satisfied, perfectly.' After this incident there was some further conversation with reference to the past that seemed specially natural as coming from G. P."

In order to test G. P.'s power to see things on earth some experiments were made among which were the following: G. P. was asked to visit Mrs. Howard in her home and report what she was doing, it having been previously arranged between her and Dr. Hodg-

[1] *Proceedings, S. P. R.*, xii:302.
[2] *Proceedings, S. P. R.*, xiii:322.

son that she should do various fantastic things. G. P. reported through Phinuit speaking:[1]

"She's writing, and taken some violets and put them in a book. And it looks as if she's writing that to my mother. . . . . Who is Tyson . . . . Davis . . . . I saw her (Mrs. Howard) sitting in the chair. By George! I've seen that fellow (the sitter) somewhere (touching face) (Why, George, you know me) sitting before a little desk or table. Took little book, opened it, wrote letter he thinks to his mother. Saw her take a little bag and put some things in it belonging to him, placed the photograph beside her on the desk. That's her. Sent a letter to TASON (Tyson?) TYSON." . . . . "She hunted a little while for her picture, sketching. He is certain that the letter is to his mother. She took one of George's books and turned it over and said: 'George, are you here? Do you see that?' These were the very words. Then she turned and went up a short flight of stairs. Took things from a drawer, came back again, sat down to the desk, and then finished the letter."

A statement was sent to Mrs. Howard, who in a letter to Dr. Hodgson[2] affirms that she had done none of the things on the day of the seance, but *all* of them during the previous day and a half, and that nearly all the details of the description were minutely accurate.

The death of Mr. Edmund Gurney, which occurred in 1888, ushered in a new phase in Mrs. Piper's automatic communications. Shortly after his death messages purporting to come from him were received by another automatist, and the following year by Mrs. Piper. Later the Edmund Gurney control appeared in the script of other mediums as did also those of Professor Sidgwick, Mr. Frederic Myers and Dr. Hodgson subsequent upon their death.

[1] *Proceedings, S. P. R.*, xiii:305 et seq.
[2] *Proceedings, S. P. R.*, xiii:306-307.

We shall sufficiently refer to these communications in our chapter on Spirit Identity and shall make no further mention of them in this place.

The most interesting development in automatic script is found in cross-correspondence, consisting of independent references to the same topic occurring at about the same time in the script of two or more automatists sometimes separated by very long distances. In the better cases the statements of one automatist is no mere reproduction of those of another or others, but represent different references to one and the same idea, so written that while in themselves they are often quite unintelligible, when taken together they are found to complement one the other and thus to form a coherent and intelligible statement. The different parts of the correspondence are sometimes distributed over a considerable space of time and in separate trances. We shall here present two examples which will be discussed in a later chapter.

The *"Ave Roma Immortalis"* cross-correspondence occurred between the 2d and 7th of March, 1916, the automatists being Mrs. Verrall and Mrs. Holland. The script reads as follows.[1]

Mrs. Verrall's script on March 2d, 1906.

> Non tali auxilio invenies quod velis non tali auxilio nec defensoribus istis.
> Keep the two distinct—you do not hear—write regularly—give up other things.
> Primus inter pares ipse non nominis immemor. Cum eo frater etsi non sanguine animo consanguineus ii ambo tibi per aliam vocem mittent—post aliquot dies bene quod dicam comprehendere potes—usque ad illud vale.

[1] *Proceedings, S. P. R.*, xxi:297 et seq.

Mrs. Verrall's script on March 4th, 1906.

Pagan and Pope. The Stoic persecutor and the Christian. Gregory not Basil's friend ought to be a clue, but you have it not quite right.
Pagan and Pope and Reformer all enemies as you think.
Crux significationem habet. Crucifer qui olim fertur.
The standard-bearer is the link.

Mrs. Verrall's script on March 5th, 1906.

Leonis pelle sumpto claviger in scriptis iam antea bene denotatus. Corrigenda sunt quaedam.
Ask your husband, he knows it well.
Stant inde columnae relicta Calpe iam finis.
No you have left out something. Assiduo lectore columnae (fractae).

Mrs. Verrall had recognized the reference to the Æneid ("Non tali auxilio"—the vain defence of Troy against the Greeks) but the rest had no meaning to her. Dr. Verrall, to whom she showed the script on March 2nd, said that he saw a connection between the two Latin passages but did not tell what connection. On seeing the script of March 4th he said that the same intention was conveyed by "Pagan and Pope, etc."

On March 11th a copy of extracts of Mrs. Holland's script of March 7th arrived containing the words "Ave Roma Immortalis. How could I make it any clearer without giving her the clue?" which Dr. Verrall said applied appropriately to the same thing. He then told his wife what he considered the script to allude to, being Raphael's picture of Attila meeting with Pope Leo.[1]

[1] Miss Johnson gives the following description of the picture:

"The picture is the well-known one in the Stanza d'Eliodoro in the Vatican. The Pope sits on a white palfrey, a cross-bearer riding on his left and cardinals on his right. Attila on a black horse is in the middle of the picture, with a standard-bearer in the background on his right

The *"Sesame and Lilies"* incident introduces the Mac family, the five members of which had been practicing planchette writing. The reading of Myers' *"Human Personality"* increased their interest in the practice, which now gave results in better writing and in new controls. In June, 1908, they read Miss Johnson's report on Mrs. Holland's script,[1] and on July 19th a "Sidgwick" control appeared in their script. Mrs. Verrall's name also appeared. On September 23d they made themselves known in a letter to Mrs. Verrall. In this letter the following script, which occurred on July 27th, 1908, was inclosed:[2]

> "Sidgwick. News from the Orient (Drawing of rose) Roses—dew-kissed—R. S.
> Sidgwick. Sesame and lilies—lotus the flower of repentance.
> Sidgwick. Vanity of vanities, all is vanity. A little love and then the joy fades and the rose is crumpled and wither(s) up—fane.
> (Automatists ask, 'What is that?')
> French ('fané'). Bleeding hearts can not be staunched and the voice of death echoes through the brain with palling monotony—Sidgwick. Hollow and mortal vain is life without a meaning."

This script, all from the Sidgwick control, has reference to four topics, each forming the subject of cross-correspondence with other automatists, viz.:[3]

1. "News from the Orient" refers to cross-correspondence between Mrs. Piper, Mrs. Holland and Mrs. Verrall under title "Light in the West."

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and a group of mounted Huns beyond. St. Peter and St. Paul are descending from the sky, both bearing swords, and St. Peter also holding a large key or keys in his left hand. In the background is seen the city of Rome, with the Coliseum and aqueducts." (Op. cit., p. 229.)

[1] *Proceedings, S. P. R.*, xxi:266 et seq.

[2] Ibid., p. 269.

[3] Ibid.

2. "Sesame and Lilies" refers to Miss Verrall's script of March 17th, 1907, and to that of Miss Verrall between July 20th and September 1st, 1908.

3. "Vanity of vanities" refers to Miss Verrall's script beginning June 1st, 1908.

4. "Bleeding hearts," etc., refers to Miss Verrall's script of March 16th, 1908, a stanza from one of Victor Hugo's poems.

A description of the whole script in its connections would here be too lengthy and we shall confine ourselves to the "Sesame and Lilies" incident. We shall mention the script in chronological order.

A. *Miss Verrall's script of March 17th, 1908.*[1]

"Alexander's tomb quinque et viginti annos post urbem conditam
with fire and sword to purge the altar not
without grief laurel leaves are emblem
laurel for the victor's brow
Say not the struggle nought availeth
Sesame and lilies arum lilies
When the darkness on the quiet land
Scarlet tulips all in a row."

The words "laurel" and "wreath" occur in Mrs. Verrall's script of February 6th, 1907.[2] Analyzing Miss Verrall's script we find:

1. Laurel leaves and laurel wreath.

2. Clough's poem, "Say not the struggle nought availeth."

3. Sesame and Lilies.

B. *Miss Mac's script July 19th, 1908.*[3]

"Where is the little blue vase with the lilies that grow by Sharon's dewy rose . . . .
Search the Scriptures, and the dust shall be converted into fine gold."

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[1] *Proceedings, S. P. R.*, xxii:99.
[2] Ibid., pp. 97-98.
[3] *Proceedings, S. P. R.*, xxiv:273.

C. *Mrs. Verrall's script July 20th, 1908,*[1] contains reference to the Clough poem.

D. *Miss Mac's script July 26th, 1908.*[2]
"A blue book bound in blue leather with ended paper and gold tooling."

E. *Miss Mac's script July 27th, 1908.*[3]
"Sidgwick. Sesame and lilies—lotus the flower of repentance."

F. *Miss Mac's script July 29th, 1908.*[4]
The "Evans" control says that Mr. Sidgwick is anxious to get a message through the automatists to Mrs. Verrall and was trying to do it now.

G. *Miss Verrall's script August 12th, 1908.*[5]
"praeterita rediviva
O mors, O labies
Araby the perfumes of Araby
. . . . . ."

H. *Mrs. Verrall's script August 19th, 1908.*[6]
"Let your hand go loose—let the words come.
It is a literary allusion that should come to-day.
Think of the words
Liliastrum Paradise—Liliago—no not that.
Lilies of Eden—Lilith no
Eve's lilies
all in a garden fair. Try again.

Lilies swaying in a wind
Under a garden wall
Lilies for the bees to find
Lilies fair and tall.

Then besides the Lilies there is to be another word for you and for her Lilies and a different word—

[1] *Proceedings, S. P. R.,* xxiv:268.
[2] Ibid., p. 273.
[3] Ibid., p. 269.
[4] Ibid., p. 270.
[5] Ibid., p. 313. Mrs. Verrall saw this script Sept. 1, 1908.
[6] Ibid. Miss Verrall saw this script on Sept. 1, 1908.

So that *lilies* is the catchword to show what words are to be put together.

And your second word is gold.

think of the golden lilies of France.

You will have to wait some time for the end of this story, for the solution of this puzzle—but I think there is no doubt of its ultimate success.

Yours."

I. *Miss Verrall's script August 19th, 1908.*[1]

"Blue and gold were the colours golden stars on a blue ground like a night sky—the brimming goblet the eagles prey cupbearer to Zeus himself, but it availed him nothing when the peril came . . . ."

J. *Miss Verrall's script August 22d, 1908.*[2]

"Unto this last that was the message to be given. The cross and sceptre the double symbol temporal and spiritual but the cross was first.

Who said 'I will go before that ye may see the track.'

It was in the cemetery where the lilies grow—a view over the hills—blue hills—in love with death.

Note that the words are a clue.

But you have no but you have not yet written the most important of all. But do not hurry or guess let it come of itself. Is not there a change this time. You should consider what it was that made you feel what no (drawing of lyre without strings). An oriel window beautifully traced the Western light shines through.

F. W. H. M."

K. *Miss Mac's script, September, 1908.*

1st—Script of July to be sent to Mrs. Verrall.

13th—Above repeated.

18th—Script to be sent by September 26th.

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[1] Op. cit., p. 314. Mrs. Verrall say this script on Sept. 1, 1908.

[2] Ibid. Mrs. Verrall saw this script on Sept. 1, 1908.

If we begin with E we read "Sesame and Lilies," which is the title of one of Ruskin's books, originating in two lectures given in Manchester in 1864. The lectures were called "Sesame: of Kings' Treasuries" and "Lilies: of Queens' Gardens." In the first edition each lecture has a Greek motto, *Sesame* having prefixed Job xxviii:5-6 ("Out of it cometh bread . . . . . and . . . . dust of gold"), and *Lilies* Canticles ii:2 ("As the Lily among thorns, so is my love . . . ."). This edition was bound in brown cloth. Later editions, bound in blue and gold, had other mottoes. The B script may well be considered to refer to the mottoes in the first edition and the D script evidently refers to the later editions bound in blue leather and gold. We have, then, in Miss Mac's script an allusion to Ruskin's "Sesame and Lilies."

If we now turn to Mrs. Verrall's script, H refers to a literary allusion "which is to come to-day." Then "lilies" is referred to as the catchword which of course indicates cross-correspondence, and would connect with Miss Mac's script B and E. "Lilies" is to be the first word in the answer, the second is gold—which fits in with "Sesame: of Kings' Treasuries." We shall not enlarge upon the various connections to be found between the two scripts. But if H is understood to refer to "Sesame and Lilies," the rest of the answer becomes clear. In G Miss Verrall writes "praeterita rediviva." *Praeterita* is the name of another of Ruskin's books, as is also *Unto this Last,* which occurs in her script in J. In his preface to the edition of 1882 Ruskin says of *Sesame and Lilies* that "if read in connection with *Unto this Last,* it contains the chief truths I have endeavored through all *my past life* to display." This somewhat chimes in with *praeterita rediviva!*

3. *Crystal gazing* is by no means proper to Spiritism. It is an ancient art which has been found among the customs of Assyria, Persia, Egypt, Greece, Rome, China, Japan and India, North American Indians, African tribes and the Incas, and is still in vogue among the Shamans of Siberia and Eastern Russia, the Polynesians, Australian savages, and so on.

It received perhaps its highest development under direction of Doctor John Dee of the Elizabethan period, whose "shew-stone" has been perserved in the British museum, and of whom Hudibras says:[1]

> "I've read Dee's prefaces before,
> The Devil and Euclid o'er and o'er,
> And all the intrigues 'twixt him and Kelly,
> Lescus and the Emperor would tell ye,
> Kelly did all his feats upon
> The Devil's looking-glass, a stone;
> Where playing with him at Bo Peep
> He solved all problems ne'er so deep."

His "scyrer," Kelly, not only could see spirits in the stone, but also hear them talk, and he often kept long conversations with them. Sometimes writing was seen in place of spirits. Since his time the practice of crystal gazing has been carried on in England and elsewhere and has simply been adopted by the Spiritists.[2]

The practice consists in looking fixedly into a crystal enveloped in a dark cloth or otherwise so arranged that it will return the least possible reflection. Instead of a crystal, a vessel containing clear water or some other clear liquid, a steel mirror, water in springs, etc., can be used. It is necessary that there should be nothing to distract the "scyrer," and consequently solitude and mental passivity are to be strongly recommended. A

[1] Part II, canto 3.

[2] See Andrew Lang, *"The Making of Religion,"* pp. 90 et seq., and "Recent Experiments in Crystal Vision" by anonymous lady *in Proceedings, S. P. R.*, v:490-504.

surface reflecting the images of surrounding objects would not fulfill this requirement, and it is for this reason that the crystal should be enveloped in black cloth or otherwise protected.

In gazing into the crystal the "scyrer" must avoid fatigue no less than distraction. After the lapse often of about ten minutes a clouding is seen in the crystal, which will dissolve and give room for some figure. At times several figures and scenes will appear dramatically representing events. Again script will take the place of figures and scenes.

Mrs. Verrall in describing crystal visions says[1] that they are unlike all other visual impressions which she has received, mentioning mental pictures, faces in the fire, shapes in the clouds and spontaneous impressions of persons or scenes. The difference between a picture in the crystal and a mental picture is quite marked but difficult to describe. She states: "I believe that with me the crystal picture is built up from the bright points in the crystal, as they sometimes enter into it; but the picture, when once produced, has a *reality* which I have never been able to obtain when looking into the fire or trying to call up an imaginary scene with my eyes shut." Her visions include animals, human figures, common objects, geometrical figures, written words, scenes and fanciful groups or scenes.

Movement occurs not infrequently in the pictures, and so does change. By movement she means alteration within the same picture, whereas change signifies that the whole picture undergoes alteration and is succeeded by another. She adduces the following two examples of movement and change respectively:

"Landscape, large piece of still water in evening light, beyond it mountains and hills, two snowy peaks, one sharply defined dark hill in front—open space on

[1] *Proceedings S. P. R.*, viii:473.

right of mountains. Steamer passing from right to left till it touched shore and was lost to sight."

"I saw nothing for some time. Then a flower like a convolvulus, which I knew to be pink though I saw no color, first sideways, then facing with a hard round knob in the middle. Then I knew it was not pink, but metal. I knew this from the hardness of outline, not the color. It kept changing from one position to the other."[1]

Sometimes the picture undergoes development in that things which first appear dim and confused become clear and distinct.

The pictures shown in the crystal in a large number of cases do not even suggest spirit intervention. They are plainly after-images and recrudescent memories or unconsciously in the mind of the percipient. But there are visions of another kind, which imply acquisition of knowledge by other than generally accepted normal means. These visions are often premonitory or they represent events occurring at a distance and not at the time known by the recipient, or past events of which he or she is normally ignorant. The figure of a man, his features muffled, is seen crouching at a certain small window and looking into the room from the outside. One is led to believe that some account of burglary has conjured this vision in the imagination of the recipient. But three days later a fire breaks out in the same room, which has to be entered from the outside through the window, the fireman protecting his face against the flames with a wet towel.[2] Or, a small bunch of daffodils presents itself in various positions on a certain Monday evening, and a few days later the "scyrer" receives from an artist friend a "Valentine" with a bunch of daffodils, corresponding exactly to the picture in the

[1] *Proceedings, S. P. R.*, v:474.
[2] *Proceedings, S. P. R.*, v:517-518.

crystal, and learns that the sender employed some hours on the preceding Monday in making studies of the flowers in various positions.[1]

Occasionally, however, the crystal vision corresponds poorly to the actual object to which it refers, which was the case when the "scyrer" described the person of Queen Victoria as "wearing black trousers and shoes, a white hat, red coat, black waistcoat, having whiskers, and presenting a glass tumbler."[2]

[1] *Proceedings, S. P. R.*, v:516.

[2] Ibid., v:514. See further *Proceedings, S. P. R.*, v:486-521, viii:473-492; x:108, 136; xv:48-50; 385; Myers, "*Human Personality*," varia loca, etc.

CHAPTER V.

Genuine and Spurious Phenomena.

Turning from the phenomena themselves as they have been observed and are found described in the sources upon which we have drawn, we now approach the task of accounting for their origin. The problem thus offering itself has for a long time demanded the attention of men identified with *Psychical Research,* but so far has found no complete or definite solution, so that at present the subject has not advanced beyond the stage of more or less plausible theories.

In dealing with Spiritism from the point of view of Religion we should necessarily be supremely concerned with the question whether or not the claim to preternatural causation of the phenomena, put forth by the defenders of Spiritism, can be substantiated. And evidently we can reach a decision on that point only by exhausting the possibility of natural causation.

The enormous difficulty which such task involves will be appreciated when we consider the divergence of conclusions—or rather the inconclusive results—which are the fruits of the strenuous and patient labors of over sixty years of scientific investigation. With such facts before us, and realizing on the one hand the vast importance of the subject, and on the other its bizarre and evasive nature, we can not dare to hope for summary and definite conclusions, nor must we treat the subject in a dogmatic manner. And since it would be entirely beyond the scope of the present treatise to undertake anything approaching a searching investigation, we shall here merely in a general way refer to the results already obtained and give a short outline of the process by which we think the question might possibly become more definitely settled in the future.

To begin with the physical phenomena, there are two main hypotheses of natural causation to be considered. For the phenomena as a whole may either be spurious, that is to say surreptitiously produced by mechanical means, or owing their merely subjective existence to psychological aberrations in the mind of the observer; or they may be genuine, i. e., of an *objective* nature true to their appearance, in which they would have to be ascribed to some hitherto unknown force or forces in nature. If either can be shown to offer adequate explanation the ground will be cut from under the spiritistic claim.

We readily admit that nature is far from having been fully explored and that doubtless she may harbour powers of which at present we are not cognizant. The thought that such a force or such forces would have been brought to display in phenomena which are new and puzzling has long been in the minds of men. Mesmer ascribed his phenomena to Animal Magnetism, Pététin referred them to Animal Electricity, and both Count de Gasparin and Sir William Crookes sought the operation of an unknown natural force behind the phenomena of Spiritism.

Baron von Reichenbach thought that he had discovered a force, which he named *Od,* and which emanated with a luminous effect from magnets, crystals, human bodies and other substances. But so far as his experiments are concerned, it was never proven that the luminous emanations had more than a subjective reality in the mind or imagination of the observers. On the other hand, more recent observations and experiments have proved that psychical emotions cause electrical variations in our system, and radiations from the body similar in effect to cathodic rays have been registered upon photographic plates.[1] It seems certain

[1] See Boirac, "*Our Hidden Forces,*" pp. 249-259; Tromelin, "*Le Fluide Humain*"; Imoda *in* "*Annals of Psychical Science,*" Aug.-Sept. 1908; and Baraduc, "*L'Iconographie en Anses.*"

that these radiations follow variations and changes in our system. As a rule they are not visible to the normal eye, but can be seen by clairvoyants and psychics depending, no doubt, upon the supernormally increased sensitivity of their senses. Other minute effects, which would be easily explained by bodily electricity or even heat, have been registered upon a very sensitive apparatus, while attempts to test the odic fluid, or whatever we might choose to call the emanations from the body, upon sensitive scales have been in vain.[1]

The physical phenomena of Spiritism postulate not only a force exerting attraction and repulsion. Such action would account but for a minority of the phenomena, whereas a great many of them, such as sounds, impressions, passing of matter through matter, raps, touches and blows, production of substances and objects, elongation, the fire-test, and, above all, materialization, would not find their explanation in any force analogous in its operation to presently known forces of nature. A force, which at the will of preferably an uneducated peasant woman, or a young girl with no experience in physics—or in so far as the marvel is concerned, at the will of anybody—will not only lift tables, play musical instruments, produce faces in clay and reproduce the texture of the medium's skin in lamp-smoke, but also create shadowy hands and figures, life-like phantoms with all the properties of living human beings, dressed and trimmed in female costume, or awe-inspiring in pickelhaube and bedsheet—which objects, by the way, also have to be produced—and again reduce all this tangible matter to the ether or nothingness whence it issued—such a versatile force is a strange one indeed—in itself a stranger phenomenon than those of Spiritism.

[1] See Flournoy's and E. Dermole's experiments in the former's "*Spiritism and Psychology*," p. 296.

It would be an obvious weakness to refer to many forces with different operations, especially since materialization and dematerialization, if at all possible, would explain the majority of the phenomena as being the work of the materialized being. But materialization, to which subject we shall have occasion to return, offers—at least apart from the spiritistic hypothesis—what seem to be insuperable difficulties of acceptance.

If a new force has been found operative in the phenomena of Spiritism, let us have proof of its existence other than seventy years of notoriously fraudulent mediumship. The kind of proof we look for has well been stated by Sir William Crookes who writes:[1] "The spiritualist tells of flowers with the fresh dew on them, of fruit, and living objects being carried through closed windows, and even solid brick-walls. The scientific investigator naturally asks that an additional weight (if it be only the thousandth part of a grain) be deposited on one pan of his balance when the case is locked. And the chemist asks for the one-thousandth of a grain of arsenic to be carried through the sides of a glass tube in which pure water is hermetically sealed." Till such proofs are forthcoming we need not appeal from Spiritism to unknown forces in nature.

As a matter of fact, the phenomena when studied in their *ensemble* at seances to our mind offer little encouragement to the prospective discoverer of a new force. With few exceptions they are such as could be performed by a human being, most frequently with the agency of one or two hands. The mediums usually refer to them as done by spirits possessing the properties of a living being—it is the spirit that dips its face in the wet clay, that lifts the table, administers the blows, makes the raps, carries the objects, the lights, etc., and produces the sounds. Eusapia, when levitated, could feel

[1] "*Researches, etc.*," p. 6.

pressure as of a hand under the pit of her arm, and her sitters, when molested by the spirits, could feel the outline of a hand which gave the blows, or of the fingers which pinched them. During her seances there was mention of a third hand, a kind of materialized spirit hand, executing the various movements, etc. If to these facts we add the frequently occurring materializations of hands, and also those of busts and whole figures, we come to the conclusion that at least the great majority of the phenomena are not produced by a simple natural force, but by a being, acting as would a living human being.

Upon this conclusion, apart from the spiritistic hypothesis, two claims may be based. The defenders of materialization as a natural process, whereby the etheric double or body of the medium will escape from the material body and manifest itself, see in the phenomena the activity of the thus externalized and materialized double. On the other hand more skeptically inclined people are ready to assert that the whole marvel is the result of trickery and prestidigitation on the part of the medium. Leaving the question of materialization for later discussion we shall now see how far the hypothesis of fraudulent production will lead.

No serious investigator, particularly of the physical phenomena of Spiritism, will deny that fraud plays an important part in their production, that, in fact, dishonesty among mediums generally speaking is so commonly found as to justify an *a priori* attitude of skepticism, if nothing worse, towards spiritistic performances. While it would not be in harmony with principles of scientific research to reject the whole matter on *prima facie* evidence or on *a priori* judgment, nevertheless we feel that the weight of this evidence is such that we are justified in refusing to accept phe-

nomena as genuine until proofs to that end have been forthcoming. The grounds for our attitude may be briefly summarized as follows:[1]

Beginning with the phenomena themselves it must be admitted that *a priori* they are very improbable, although not in the same degree, for while raps and telekinetic phenomena might be placed side by side with already accepted physical effects, materialization and passing of matter through matter would reverse our whole conception of the laws of nature.

Of course, this point does not disprove the possibility of the physical phenomena of Spiritism, for, however firmly our conception of the laws of nature may be established, yet it is not unthinkable that some future discovery might bring about a readjustment. But, at least in so far as the fundamental laws of nature are concerned, this seems exceedingly improbable. And consequently we feel justified on these grounds in increasing our demands upon the evidence adduced in favor of the spiritistic phenomena.[2]

Passing from the phenomena to the conditions surrounding their occurrence we find that the arrangements in the seance-room are highly favorable to fraudulent productions. The darkness or semi-darkness of the seance-room will to a large extent prevent detection of trickery, and facilitate the introduction of apparatus for producing effects such as "spirit-lights," luminous bodies, showers of fluid, and the like. This is emphasized by the employment of a cabinet with a curtain behind which the medium may operate without much risk of being detected.

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[1] We follow in part the general outline of Count Perovsky-Petrovo-Solovovo's *a priori* argument as found in "Les Phénomènes physique du Spiritism: quelques difficultées." *In Proceedings, S. P. R.*, xxv:413 et seq.

[2] Count Petrovo (Op. cit., p. 414) quotes the principle: "Plus un fait est en soi improbable, plus nous sommes authorisés à nous montrer difficiles en fait de preuve."

The conditions enjoined upon the sitters such as holding of hands, remaining in a certain place, thinking of a certain thing or observing a certain point, etc., are calculated to act as an effective check upon investigation. The playing of musical instruments, and singing and talking during the seances—a thing frequently encouraged by mediums—would serve both to drown the sound of secret manipulations and considerably affect the attention of the sitters, whose powers of observation are furthermore dulled by the mysterious atmosphere created by the expectation of the marvels the medium will announce to be about to happen. While all these conditions may not be found at seances held for the benefit of scientific investigators, yet it is a fact that noted professional mediums have been unable to produce a single phenomenon when the suspicious circumstances were removed.[1]

There is an obvious objection to this point. Physical experiments depend upon certain conditions. Rub a glass-staff and it will become charged with electricity. Insist upon rubbing it with a wet cloth or in great humidity, and no result will be obtained. Insist upon taking photographs in the dark or developing the plates or films in broad daylight, and no photographic impression will be received.

On the face of it the objection seems to carry some weight. But the conditions upon which natural physical phenomena depend are first of all simple, and usually—except perhaps in the case of photography—do not in the very least suggest a secret process. The reverse of this is to be said of the spiritistic phenomena, for not

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[1] From 1874 to 1886 Mrs. Sidgwick conducted a series of investigations with eight professional mediums. Not a single phenomenon could be produced when necessary precautions were taken. See *Proceedings, S. P. R.*, iv:45 et seq.

Nor has the American Society for Psychical Research ever been able to find a medium that would produce physical phenomena satisfactorily under test-conditions. See *Am. Proceedings, S. P. R.*, i:230.

only are the conditions complex, without which they are said not to occur, but they are precisely those we would expect were trickery to be practiced.

But then there is another consideration which we think will be of still more weight. Natural physical phenomena depend upon laws and conditions which are constant. A copper wire will always conduct electricity —rubber never; light will always dissolve nitrate of silver; heat always procure expansion, and so forth. But this is not the case with spiritistic phenomena. Mediums—or rather their "spirit-controls"—will explain the "laws" which govern the physical phenomena. And these "laws," said to be of a *sine qua non* nature, change with various "spirits" in a self-contradictory manner. One "spirit-control" will say that darkness is necessary for the production of phenomena—yet, D. D. Home usually operated in full light, so did the slate-writing mediums, and as regards certain sittings with Eusapia we are told by her investigators that the number of the phenomena *increased* in proportion to the light.[1] The chain of hands is necessary, yet, when convenient to the medium it may be broken as will be seen, for example, on the photographs of levitated tables to which we have referred. Certain mediums—as for instance the Davenport brothers—will operate only when isolated from the assistants, and with their hands and feet tied, while others will not consent to be tied. The apport-phenomena are rather common, but some mediums never perform them, and Home's "spirit-control" declares that "it is impossible for matter to pass through matter."[2]

When we come to inquire into the materialization phenomena, we shall be told that they depend upon the trance state of the medium. According to Aksakov's

[1] Feilding, Baggally and Carrington *in Proceedings, S. R. P.*, xxiii: 323.

[2] *Researches, etc.*, p. 98.

theory there corresponds to each partial or total materialization a partial or total dematerialization of the medium.[1] Still, at Crookes' *tête-à-têtes* with Katie King, at the materializations at Villa Carmen and at many other times, both medium and materialized spirit are reported to have been seen together. The "astral-body" or "etheric double" theory will have the astral-body of the medium, which conforms in size and shape with his material body, appear outside him, and such is the exact resemblance between the two that the faces impressed by Eusapia's double in clay or putty are easily recognized to be her face, and the marks of her astral fingers in the lamp-black could not be distinguished from her finger prints by a Bertillon expert. But Sir William Crookes takes photographs both of Florence Cook and of Katie King, and finds them two different beings: the young lady of Villa Carmen has a bearded double with pickelhaube and bedsheet; Eusapia materializes hands of men, women and children, big and small, hairy and soft.

Jan Guzik is never entranced, nor even isolated from his sitters when the spirits materialize. However, he makes one condition—no pieces of cloth impregnated with luminous substances must be tied around his legs and arms. That is the supreme "law" of his materializations. Some materialized spirits are flowing over with startling information, but Mrs. Corner (Florence Cook) declares that once back in human shape the spirit knows no more than the assistants.

The very phenomena are mutually contradictory. The immediate presence of the medium, and particularly of his hands, is required for the most insignificant movement without contact, whereas apport takes place often from long distances and at that necessitates the passing of the object brought through brick walls or other substantial matter.

[1] *Proceedings, S. P. R.*, xxiii:323.

Apart from the element of contradiction, is it merely coincidence that the *soi-disant* laws of the spiritistic phenomena seem to point to rather plausible methods of trickery? We also find them changing in a manner which can not escape our suspicion when we compare them with fraudulent methods already discovered in use. First there is the "materialized hand" carrying objects; later, when the trick of freeing one hand has been discovered, the "law" changes and the "materialized cord," unheard of before Ochorowicz's experiments, takes its place. The materialized form is said to issue from the medium, and to dissolve by rejoining him. That is precisely what would appear at a staged materialization. Grocyn stands pointing at the table from which the sounds issue at Moses' seances. All in all, there is a deplorable coincidence between the "law" and conditions which would favour fraud.

The spirits frequently leave relics in the seance-room, but these are invariably of the most terrestrial origin—we again refer to Katie King's lock and the piece from her dress, both secured by the gallant Sir William—and as for Anna Rothe's flowers and Baily's birds—one even discovered the shops from which they came.

Certain mediums have been subjected to seances under test-conditions which at times have convinced the investigators present that mechanical trickery was precluded. Such was the case with Sir William Crookes when investigating the Home phenomena, and of many of Eusapia's investigators. Of course their judgment is based merely upon ocular observation which cannot always be exact. And it is interesting to notice that there is a certain relation between the severity of the test conditions and the success of the phenomena. The early days of Spiritism show more astounding phenomena than we have been accustomed to hear of of late when more rigorous control has been employed. Home's phenomena were more marvelous than Eusapia's.

If the conditions of the seance-room invite to fraud, there are also ample methods of fraudulent production. Almost every physical phenomenon has been successfully reproduced by mechanical means under conditions not only similar to but at times less favourable than those of the average seance-room.

We shall not attempt to describe the many methods for lifting and moving objects, producing raps and all kinds of sounds, causing objects to appear and disappear, loosing tied cords (whereby the medium may easily free himself in the cabinet), producing luminous effects, "spirit-photographs," etc.; suffice it to say that there is a profuse abundance of such methods known to the sleight-of-hand artist.[1] On the other hand, none of these methods would account for certain phenomena of this order as they are reported to have been produced by certain mediums, notably the "elongations" and "fire-test" of D. D. Home. But to these cases we shall return later.

The phenomena which convey intelligence are as easily accounted for by fraud as those of a purely physical character. We need make no new reference to raps as occurring in "rapping-messages" and "spirit-telegraphy." Slate-writing is easily performed without the intervention of spirits. Both Slade and Eglinton, the foremost slate-writing mediums, were found to produce the phenomena by substituting the original slate for a prepared one.[2] Mr. S. J. Davey learned the tricks connected with this art, and gave performances in broad daylight which baffled such critics even as Mr. Podmore.[3]

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[1] Hereward Carrington has devoted considerable space in his "*The Physical Phenomena of Spiritualism*" to a description of a few of these methods. See also Paul Carus, "*The Old and New Magic*," Chicago, 1906.

[2] Podmore, "*Studies, etc.*," p. 95, and Criticism by Mrs. Sidgwick *in Journal, S. P. R.*, June, 1886.

[3] "He produced a long message in Japanese for a Japanese marquis; he made—or seemed to make—pieces of chalk under a glass describe geometrical figures . . .; . . . he materialized in strong light a woman's

Planchette-writing, in so far as its physical part is concerned, differs little from table turning. Direct "spirit-writing" with pencil and paper may be performed by sleight-of-hand as easily as any "apport" phenomenon.

"Materialization" may, without great difficulty, be staged in a dark room[1] with the aid of a few yards of white netting previously impregnated with a luminous substance. The performer, dressed in black and wearing a black mask, is invisible in the darkness. He carries the prepared netting in a small, black bag in his vest-pocket[2] or keeps it concealed in the back of his chair, and all he has to do is to take it out, let it appear on the floor as a small, glowing ball which, as he unfolds it, grows into a phantastic rising spirit-shape, and, finally, wrapped round him as he takes off his black mask and gloves, which have hidden face and hands powdered with luminous substance, presents a life-like, full-fledged "materialized" spirit.

Whole scores of "ghosts" have been introduced into the seance-room by this method, and readily recognized by the sitters as their departed parents, grandparents, children, friends and relatives. Yea, the most charming "spirit-queens" have been known to have returned to the shadows of earth in quest of some pecunious "affinity," to sweeten his life and empty his pocket-book.[3]

So far we have shown that there exist conditions and methods which render the physical phenomena as a whole exceedingly suspicious. That our suspicions are not unfounded is eminently shown throughout the

head, which floated in the air and then dematerialized; and the half-length figure of a bearded man, in a turban, reading a book, who bowed to the circle and finally disappeared through the ceiling with a scraping noise." (Podmore, "*Studies, etc.*," pp. 104-105; see also *Proceedings, S. P. R.*, vi:416, 418.)

[1] Carrington, Op. cit., pp. 230-275.

[2] Ibid., pp. 250-251.

[3] Ibid., pp. 258-260.

history of the spiritistic movement, which, at least in so far as physical phenomena are concerned, is so filled with evidence of fraud that it would seem that genuine productions were scarcely ever exhibited. The Fox girls were exposed in fraud,[1] so were Anna Rothe,[2] Miss Cook,[3] Miss Wood,[4] Mrs. Mellon,[5] Messrs. Slade[6] and Eglinton,[7] Herne,[8] Williams and Rita,[9] Bastian and Taylor,[10] Miss Showers,[11] Eusapia Palladino,[12] the spirit-photographers,[13] the Australian, Bailey,[14] Charles Eldred, [15] Craddock;[16] as a fact almost every professional physical, and most psychic mediums have—in many cases repeatedly—been detected in trickery; and only the most amazing credulity coupled with ignorance on the part of the masses can explain the continued prosperity of the profession.[17] . . . . Nor is fraud to be laid at the door of the paid medium alone, for the desire to receive notice, to be extraordinary and interesting and to be considered specially gifted has

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[1] See pp. 19-20.
[2] *Annales des Sciences Psychiques*, 1894, p. 388; 1895, p. 53.
[3] See p. 26.
[4] Podmore, "*Modern Spiritualism*," vol. II, pp. 198, 112-113.
[5] T. Shekleton Henry, "*Spookland*," pp. 50-51.
[6] See p. 31 and *Annales des Sciences Psychiques*, 1905, p. 218.
[7] Podmore, Op. cit., pp. 206-207; "*Studies, etc.*," p. 100.
[8] Podmore, "*Modern Spiritualism*," vol. II, p. 107.
[9] Ibid., p. 111, and *Annales des Sciences Psychiques*, 1894, p. 333.
[10] Podmore, "*Modern Spiritualism*," vol. II, p. 107.
[11] Ibid., p. 104.
[12] See p. 41.
[13] See pp. 26-27.
[14] *Annales des Sciences Psychiques*, 1905, p. 218.
[15] Ibid., 1906, pp. 184 and 292.
[16] Ibid., 1906, pp. 320, 448.
[17] J. N. Maskelyne, a former professional medium, in "*The Supernatural*," p. 183, says: "There does not exist, and there never existed, a professional medium of any note who has not been convicted of trickery or fraud." He evidently forgets the case of D. D. Home.

The author of "*The Revelations of a Spirit Medium*," a former Spiritist who admits fraud in his own performances, states (p. 95): "Of all the mediums I have met, in eighteen years, and that means a great many, in many phases, I have never met *one* that was not sailing the very same description of craft as myself." See also Myers on "Resolute Credulity" and "Spurious Mediumship" *in Proceedings, S. P. R.*, xi:213-234, and *Journal, S. P. R.*, iii:199-207.

caused many an one to seek emergence from the comparative obscurity, which talent failed to dispel, in parading an enviable intimacy with the great spirits of the past before small circles of up-to-date society.

We have just mentioned that malobservation is not excluded even on the part of the skeptical scientist and critic examining the phenomena. But if we turn to the great mass of evidence for genuine phenomena published broadcast in magazines and newspapers by people who do not attend seances in the capacity of critics but whose credulity and disposition towards Spiritism inclines them to accept whatever is presented to them no matter under what conditions, we shall find that it is without any value whatsoever. And yet, it is this kind of evidence which is placed before the vast, uncritical public. That such an attitude not only facilitates, but positively invites, fraud goes without saying. Mr. Myers gives some interesting data on credulity and fraud in his articles on "Resolute Credulity"[1] and "Spurious Mediumship."[2] Add to this that the medium, when the phenomena are slow in coming, may receive help from fanatic sitters who *know* that the spirits *can* cause them, and when for some reason or other they fail, do what the spirits would have done.

But apart from credulity and fanaticism, many a sensible and unprejudiced investigator will be deceived, for it takes long training to be a good observer. One must know and be prepared for tricks and avoid being distracted by the methods by which mediums know to control the attention of their sitters. It is extremely hard, if not mostly impossible, to detect the methods of professional jugglers. But jugglers are expected to "perform" without mishap and failure, whereas the medium can fail as many times as he wishes—and blame it on the spirits—and choose for his phenomena

[1] *In Proceedings, S. P. R.*, xi:213-234.
[2] *In Journal, S. P. R.*, iii:199-207.

moments when the attention of the observers is properly diverted and other conditions are favourable. Even detection of constant trickery is no more considered an argument against the occurrence of genuine phenomena.

The *a priori* argument, as said, does not prove that the whole of the physical phenomena is imposture. But it goes to show how greatly they are open to suspicion and certainly places on their side the *onus probandi.* After all that has been said we feel fully justified in refusing to accept as genuine a single physical phenomenon in the absense of direct, positive evidence. In seeking this we shall briefly review some of the results obtained by scientific investigations, and particularly by those associated with Psychical Research, reserving the phenomenon of materialization for a special examination.

Investigation in the past is associated especially with the names of Dr. Hare, Professor Zöllner, and Sir William Crookes. Mr. Moses, although never subject to scientific examination, offers evidence at least in a certain respect valuable. More modern times have had a large number of investigators, experimenting with several remarkable mediums, but we shall confine ourselves here to the investigations conducted with Eusapia Palladino whom Carrington hails as the greatest of all physical mediums.[1]

To begin with Professor Zöllner we find that the only accounts of his experiments are given by himself.[2] The value of his written evidence depends entirely upon whether the phenomena actually occurred as described therein, or whether the medium, Slade, succeeded in deceiving Zöllner. There is nothing to corroborate Zöllner's testimony.

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[1] "In her may now be said to culminate and focus the whole evidential case for the physical phenomena of spiritualism."—"*Eusapia Palladino and her Phenomena,*" p. 4.

[2] *In "Transcendental Physics."*

To this should be added the fact that Slade was notorious for fraudulent performances outside the sittings with Zöllner[1] and even seems to have confessed trickery.[2] Carrington[3] gives a rather detailed account of the tricks by which the phenomena in question might be produced, and also of the possible sources of error in Zöllner's observation; and taking all together we are forced to admit that Zöllner's experiments furnish no valid evidence for the genuineness of Slade's phenomena.

We shall not detain ourselves with Dr. Hare's experiments since it is generally admitted that the evidence they offer for the genuineness of physical phenomena is inferior to that of Zöllner.[4]

Sir William Crookes' experiments fall into three parts: those conducted with Miss Cook for the investigation of "materialization," those conducted with D. D. Home covering physical phenomena in general and change in weight in particular, and his observations in regard to sounds.

Let us begin with D. D. Home. It has often been stated that this gentleman holds the unique position in the annals of Spiritism of being the only physical medium who was never discovered in trickery. We can adduce the testimony of only one person to the contrary. But this is in no way surprising if on the one hand we consider the character of Home and his presence which won for him the personal affection and esteem of all those with whom he came in contact and *a priori* inclined his audience to look upon him as a man

[1] Podmore, "*Modern Spiritualism*," vol. II, pp. 87-90; Mrs. Sidgwick *in Proceedings, S. P. R.*, iv:56; *Report of the Seybert Commission*, pp. 56-59; Truesdell, "*Spiritualism, Bottom Facts*," passim; Carrington, "*The Physical Phenomena of Spiritualism*," pp. 20-24.

[2] *Report of the Seybert Commission*, p. 70.

[3] "*The Physical Phenomena of Spiritualism*," pp. 24-47.

[4] Dr. Hyslop says: "Hare's experiments . . . were not so good as Zöllner's" ("*Borderland of Psychical Research*," p. 237); See also Podmore, "*Studies, etc.*," p. 49.

beyond suspicion; on the other that this very audience—people of society—gathered around him more to be amused and entertained than to investigate his phenomena, this with only a few notable exceptions, particularly Sir William Crookes, whose experiments with Home we now propose to discuss. But let us first quote a letter written in August, 1855, by Mr. Merrifield, and bearing upon Home's phenomena:[1]

". . . . Just as we were on the point of taking our leave, the medium professed his willingness to give us another sitting. Accordingly, we took our places at the side of the table, the medium occupying the extreme right, and a constant associate of his sitting opposite to him. I sat nearly halfway between them, and therefore facing the windows. The table was circular, and the semicircle nearest the window was unoccupied. The lights were removed, and very soon the operations began. It was about eleven o'clock; the moon had set, but the night was starlight, and we could well see the outline of the windows and distinguished, though not with accuracy of outline, the form of any large object intervening before them. The medium sat as low as possible in his low seat. His hands and arms were under the table. He talked freely, encouraging conversation, and seeming uneasy when it flagged. After a few preliminary raps somebody exclaimed that the 'spirit-hand' had appeared, and the next moment an object resembling a child's hand, with a long, wide sleeve attached to it, appeared before the light. This occurred several times. The object appeared mainly at one or other of two separate distances from the medium. One of these distances was just that of his foot, the other that of his outstretched hand; and when the object receded or approached, I noticed that the medium's body or shoulder sank or rose in the chair

[1] *Journal, S. P. R.*, May 1903, pp. 77-78.

accordingly. This was pretty conclusive to myself and the friend who accompanied me; but afterwards, upon the invitation of one of the dupes present, the 'spirit-hand' rose so high that we saw the whole connection between the medium's shoulder and arm, and the 'spirit-hand' dressed out on the end of his own."

In this connection it may be interesting to note that Robert Browning was convinced "that the whole display of hands, spirit utterances, etc., was a cheat and imposture."[1]

We shall now return to Sir William Crookes and the scientific investigation of Home's phenomena.

The experiment with the accordion was considered by Sir William and his assistants as a crucial test.[2] It is evident that Home could not have played the accordion under the circumstances. On the other hand the alleged phenomenon is so extraordinary that we can not accept its genuineness unless all possibilities of prestidigitation or other forms of trickery can be eliminated. This, we think, cannot be done.

We may well suppose that Home did not come unprepared; rather he must have known what kind of phenomena were expected, for Sir William states that the experiments in his home were held for the purpose of testing certain phenomena which had occurred under Home's influence. Sir William had witnessed them "some half dozen times" before.[3]

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[1] *Times* (London), Nov. 28, 1902.

[2] "Mr. Home still holding the accordion in the usual manner (between thumb and middle finger of one hand at the opposite end to the keys) in the cage, his feet being held by those next to him, and his other hand resting on the table, we heard distinct end separate notes sounded in succession, and then a simple air was played. As such a result could only have been produced by the various keys of the instrument being acted upon in harmonious succession, this was considered by those present to be a crucial experiment. But the sequel was still more striking, for Mr. Home then removed his hand altogether from the accordion, taking it quite out of the cage, and placed it in the hand of a person next to him. The instrument then continued to play, no person touching it and no hand being near it."—"*Researches, etc.*," p. 13.

[3] Ibid., p. 10.

Now, the music consisted of a few sounds, several notes in succession and a simple air. What could have been easier for Home than to produce this quantity of music by means of a music-box carried concealed on his person? The most natural conclusion, then, is that the accordion did not play at all, and that the experimenters simply took for granted that the sounds from the concealed music box issued from the accordion. There is nothing in Sir William's account to suggest that he ascertained the exact source of the music.

Sir William mentions the temperature in the room but makes no record of the intensity of its illumination. Yet, the value of visual observation would have been greatly reduced had the light been dim. In connection with his experiments with the spring balance apparatus Sir William mentions that the light was ample enough to show all that took place.[1] We do not know whether this statement should be taken to include the experiments with the accordion. But even with the light from a gas jet, the space under the table where the cage was placed must have been quite dark. Sir William's assistant crept under the table where he observed the accordion expanding and contracting while Home's hand, which was holding it, remained still. But it would not have been very difficult for Home to produce these movements in the accordion to which the air had access by the base key being open,[2] and occasional minute jerks of his hand, which was concealed in the comparative darkness under and close to the top of the table, would scarcely have been detected. Had a lamp been placed under the table the test would have carried more weight, but Sir William would not have failed to make mention of such precaution if it had been taken.

[1] "*Researches, etc.*," p. 36.
[2] "*Researches, etc.*," p. 12.

A small, black silk cord with a hook would have helped Home to complete the marvel. With some skill in his fingers he could have fastened the hook in the table above his hand and suspended the accordion from the cord which would not have been visible in the darkness under the table, and again introducing his hand into the cage to remove the accordion he could also have removed the evidence of the trick.

The music box and the cord are Mr. Podmore's suggestion for an explanation of the phenomenon.[1] Sir William must have foreseen criticism of this kind, for he states[2] that on the afternoon of the experiment he called for Mr. Home in his apartment and was present when Home changed dress, thus being able "to state positively that no machinery, apparatus, or contrivance of any sort was secreted about his person." But what could have prevented Home, who knew what kind of phenomena would be expected, from slipping the music box and cord into his top-coat pocket? So far as Sir William's account shows, evidently nothing.

Next we come to the experiments with the spring balance. Mr. Podmore thinks[3] that the weakness in the evidence for the results reported consists in "that Home, a practised conjurer, as the past record of himself and his followers entitles us to assume, *dictated the conditions of the experiment.*" This he did by declining to allow the capricious force of which he was master to operate until the conditions were to his liking. This is confirmed by Sir William's statement:[4] "The experiments I have tried have been very numerous, but owing to our imperfect knowledge of the conditions which favor or oppose the manifestations of this force, to the apparently capricious manner in which it is ex-

[1] "*The Newer Spiritualism*," p. 51.
[2] "*Researches, etc.*," p. 11.
[3] Op. cit., pp. 52-53.
[4] "*Researches, etc.*," p. 110.

erted, and to the fact that Mr. Home himself is subject to unaccountable ebbs and flows in the force, it has but seldom happened that a result obtained on one occasion could be subsequently confirmed and tested with apparatus specially contrived for the purpose."[1]

Mr. Podmore's inference is that Home employed a device such as "a loop of black silk, which would be invisible in the obscurity, passed over the distal end of the board and attached at the other end to some part of Home's person."[2] No doubt, this might have been done in the obscurity by a person skilled in the art of prestidigitation. And Mr. Podmore asserts that obscurity probably was one of the necessary conditions for the success of the experiment, basing himself on the fact that at a certain occasion the light is reported to have been so dim as scarcely to show the movement of the board and index.[3] This, however, was not always the case, for Sir William expressly states—as we have already mentioned—that the light was sufficient to show all that took place.

And the difficulty increases when we consider the results obtained with the more perfected apparatus.[4] The first experiment was made with a non-professional female medium whose both hands were held under control *on* the board of the apparatus while "percussive noises were heard on the parchment, resembling the dropping of grains of sand on its surface."[5] We can not here adopt the explanation that the medium freed one hand—in the manner known from Eusapia's seances—for the light was sufficient for Sir William to see a fragment of graphite on the membrane being projected about 1-50th of an inch simultaneously with

[1] "*Researches, etc.*"
[2] Op. cit., p. 64.
[3] Podmore, Op. cit., p. 53, and *Proceedings, S. P. R.*, vi:110.
[4] See p. 56.
[5] *Researches, etc.*, p. 39.

the occurrence of the percussions. It should be noted that the medium came fully ignorant of the nature of the experiments.[1]

Similar results were obtained with Home when holding his one hand above the membrane and about ten inches from the surface, the other being by a controller. The movements of the lever were, however, much slower and not accompanied by the percussive vibrations previously noticed. If the light had been dim. Home would have been able easily to perform his task with the help of a black silk cord with a small weight suspended from his hand above the membrane. But there is no information regarding the light, and the experiment succeeded when Home was two to three feet away from the apparatus. This, however, did not take place until he had had time to study the experiment and to procure suitable apparatus for its success. We must admit the great difficulty in detecting the methods of skilled prestidigitators, and the value of the evidence is much lessened by the fact that at this stage of experimentation Sir William was quite convinced that he had discovered a new force the manifestation of which he was witnessing.

While nevertheless fraud might have been excluded by sufficient precautions, Sir William's account does not bear out the actuality thereof, and the evidence we now possess must consequently be considered inconclusive.

Home's levitations show but one remarkable example—his reported floating in the air outside the house. But the evidence for this phenomenon is very faulty. First of all, Lord Lindsay was sitting with his back to the window through which Home is alleged to have floated into the room, and he judged only from the shadow of Home which presented itself upon the

[1] *Researches, etc.*, p. 39.

opposite wall. Having been warned by a whispering voice that Home was to float out through the window in the opposite room and in the same manner enter the room where he was sitting, his Lordship heard the first window open, saw the shadow on the wall, heard the second window open in its turn, and then found Home near it in the room. The rest was made up in his imagination.[1] After all, the testimony of one who examines the phenomena by turning his back upon them and looking at their shadow does not carry inconvenient weight. And he was already—previous to this incident—convinced of Home's power to levitate himself.

Lord Adare testifies to having heard the windows raised and that Home appeared outside the window. But he did not see Home appear outside the window, he simply tells what he heard Lord Lindsay describe. Captain Wynne, the third witness, says he can swear to the fact. But there is no statement to show that either of the three gentlemen had *seen* Home floating outside the windows. Mr. Podmore thinks that Home, having prepared the minds of the witnesses for the marvel which was to take place, noisily opened the window in the adjoining room, slipped back to the seance-room under cover of the darkness, got behind the curtains, opened the windows, and stepped on to the window

[1] This report to the Sub-Committee of the Dialectical Society (*Dialectical Report*, p. 214) reads: "I saw the levitations in Victoria Street when Home floated out of the window. He first went into a trance, and walked about uneasily; he then went into the hall. While he was away I heard a voice whisper in my ear, 'He will go out of one window and in at another.' I was alarmed and shocked at the idea of so dangerous an experiment. I told the company what I had heard, and we then waited for Home's return. Shortly after he entered the room I heard the window go up, but I could not see, for I sat with my back to it. I, however, saw his shadow on the opposite wall; he went out of the window in a horizontal position, and I saw him outside the other window (that in the next room) floating in the air. It was eighty-five feet from the ground."

Two years later Lord Lindsay wrote from memory an account which is given in Chapter II.

ledge.[1] At least, there is nothing to show that the feat was not accomplished in this or a similar manner.

Home also exhibited less exciting levitations, mostly in complete darkness, but it is to be noted that either the evidence of touch alone is given or, when the phenomenon was produced in a dim light, Home's body was only *partially* seen. Under such circumstances it would not have been difficult for him artificially to produce the impression that he was floating.

Mr. Podmore dismisses the evidence for Home's elongation as insufficient and unreliable.[2] Lord Lindsay's account of the phenomena he had witnessed was written some time after their alleged occurrence and Lord Adare's contemporary notes are too meagre to elucidate the phenomenon. It seems difficult to find an account which would convince us that the medium's heels did not leave the ground *at the moment when the elongation took place.* It is obvious that lacking this point any evidence becomes inconclusive.

Finally there is the so-called fire-test. Mr. Podmore quotes some cases which he thinks could without difficulty be ascribed to the art of the conjurer. Now, several methods are known whereby the phenomenon may be staged, one consisting in preparing the part of the skin which is to touch the coal with chemical substances such as alum or sulphuric acid, or, if the heated object is to be placed on the tongue, to cover this organ with a layer of powdered sugar, which in its turn is then covered with soap. Another method is found in substituting for the coal a piece of platinum-sponge the upper part of which, as held in the hand, is made to glow by application of hydrogen or alcohol.

It must be taken for granted that none of these methods could have been used by Home. First of all, it was often *the sitters* who had to undergo the test,

[1] "*The Newer Spiritualism*," pp. 71-72.
[2] Ibid., pp. 72-76.

which fact excludes previous preparation of the skin. And should we not give Sir William—a physicist and chemist—credit for being able to distinguish between charcoal and a piece of platinum sponge?

The evidence at hand, to our mind, shows cases quite beyond the possibilities of prestidigitation, and Podmore admits this of certain cases "if accurately recorded."[1] The handkerchief incident,[2] of course, is rather suspicious, for Home could have used two handkerchiefs, substituting a previously prepared one for the handkerchief he showed the sitters. But it is difficult to contradict Lord Lindsay's evidence before the Committee of the Dialectical Society and the last instance described by Sir William Crookes, unless we appeal to collective hallucination.[3]

For the present we shall not enter upon a discussion of the theory of collective hallucination. Granting that Home's fire-test had an objective reality such as presented in the accounts which we have quoted, there is

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[1] "*The Newer Spiritualism*," p. 80.

[2] See p. 68.

[3] Lord Lindsay's report on the "fire-test" reads as follows (*Dialectical Report*, pp. 208-209): "I have frequently seen Home, when in trance, go to the fire and take out large red-hot coals, and carry them about in his hands, put them inside his shirt, etc. Eight times I myself have held a red-hot coal in my hands without injury, when it scorched my face on raising my hand. Once I wished to see if they really would burn, and I said so, and touched a coal with the middle finger of my right hand, and I got a blister as large as a sixpence; I instantly asked him to give me the coal, and I held the part that burnt me, in the middle of my hand, for three or four minutes, without the least inconvenience."

"A few weeks ago I was at a *seance* with eight others. Of these, seven held a red-hot coal without pain, and the two others could not bear the approach of it; of the seven, four were ladies."

Sir William Crookes' report on the fire-test *in Proceedings, S. P. R.*, vi:103: "Mr. Home again went to the fire, and, after stirring the hot coals about with his hand, took out a red-hot piece nearly as big as an orange, and, putting it on his right hand, covered it over with his left hand so as to almost completely enclose it, and then blew into the small furnace thus extemporized until the lump of charcoal was nearly white-hot, and then drew my attention to the lambent flame which was flickering over the coal and licking round his fingers; he fell on his knees, looked up in a reverent manner, held up the coal in front, and said: 'Is not God good? Are not His laws wonderful?'"

nothing unique in this phenomenon, for occurrences of similar nature have been recorded from various parts of the world and quite apart from Spiritism. We refer to the so-called fire-walk which has been and still is in vogue in many countries and of which Andrew Lang gives an account in the *Proceedings of the Society for Psychical Research*.[1] We mention the following instances:

Colonel Gudgeon, three other Europeans and two hundred Maoris walked with bare feet across the hot stones of an oven twelve feet in diameter prepared for that purpose by the natives of Rarotonga, Polynesia, and neither he nor two of his European friends suffered the slightest injury. The fourth in the party was badly burned because he disobeyed the rules and turned round. It is certain that no chemical preparation was applied to the Europeans at least. To show the state of heat of the stones the priest, who conducted the ceremony, and who handed over to the fire-walkers the *mana* or power over the fire, half an hour afterwards threw on them a green branch which in a quarter of a minute was blazing. The incident occurred in 1899.[2]

Similar ceremonies are customary among the inhabitants of the Fiji Islands, and Dr. Hocken, who witnessed one of them, gives the following account thereof.[3] Seven or eight Fiji natives belonging to a clan which possesses the power to execute the "*vilavilairevo*" or fire ceremony walked across and around a stone oven twelve to fifteen feet in diameter in which a fire had been burning for thirty-six or forty-eight hours, the leader remaining within for about one-half minute. Immediately after he had entered leaves of the hibiscus were thrown into the oven which they immediately

[1] Vol. xv:2-15.

[2] "Te Umer-Ti, or Fire Walking Ceremony," by Col. Gudgeon, British President, Rarotonga, quoted by Andrew Lang, *in* Op. cit., pp. 4-6.

[3] "An account of the Fiji Fire Ceremony," by Dr. T. M. Hocken, F. L. S., quoted by Andrew Lang, *in* Op. cit., pp. 6-11.

filled with clouds of hissing steam. Dr. Hocken caused a thermometer to be suspended five feet and six inches above the center of the hot stones, but after a few moments it had to be withdrawn to escape destruction by the heat and it was then found to register 282° Fahr. He also examined two of the natives immediately before and after their performances, testing the skin of their feet even with his tongue, but he neither found traces of preparation nor injuries from the fire. The power is considered hereditary.

A fire walk in Tokio was witnessed in 1899 by Colonel Andrew Haggard, who tells us[1] that the performers after an ablution in cold water walked through a fire of red-hot charcoal, six yards long by six feet wide. When afterwards examining their feet he found them quite soft and without a trace of the effects of fire.

Mr. Stokes[2] saw thirteen persons during a ceremony in India walking unhurt through a fire twenty-seven feet long, seven and a half feet broad and a span deep, while a boy who fell in the same fire was burnt to death. Referring to fire-walks in India Dr. Oppert[3] states that "the heat is unbearable in the neighborhood of the ditch" in which it is built, but the walkers "as a rule do not do themselves much harm."

In the Straits Settlements, Province of Wellesley, six coolies prepared by a "devil-doctor" were observed walking the full length of a trench twenty feet long, six feet wide, and two feet deep, on a bed of red-hot coal from a pyre of wood four or five feet high, which had been burning four hours. They then walked into water. None of them showed the slightest sign of injury, although later one who fell was terribly burned.[4]

[1] Col. Andrew Haggard *in The Field*, May 20, 1899, p. 724, quoted by Andrew Lang *in* Op. cit., p. 11.

[2] *In "The Indian Antiquary,"* vol. II, p. 190, quoted by Andrew Lang, *in* Op. cit., p. 12.

[3] *"Original Inhabitants of India,"* p. 480, quoted by Andrew Lang *in* Op. cit., p. 12.

[4] Op. cit., pp. 12-13.

Other cases are recorded from the Fiji Islands, Benares, Trinidad, Spain and Bulgaria.[1]

It should be mentioned that photographs were taken during some of those performances and Mr. Lang's article especially refers to one taken by Lieutenant Morné of the French Navy and published in the *Polynesian Journal*,[2] and to another in the possession of Mr. Basil Thompson of New York.

Mr. Lang comes to the following conclusion:[3] "For my part I remain without a theory, like all European observers whom I have quoted. But in my humble opinion, all the usual theories, whether of collective hallucinations (photographic cameras being hallucinated), of psychical causes, of chemical application, of leathery skin on the soles of the feet, and so on, are inadequate."

If Spiritism is the solution let the mediums try it! In the meantime Home's case remains unexplained.

It would be impossible within the scope of this treatise to attempt a criticism of the Palladino phenomena. No medium has been more thoroughly examined and the accounts of over twenty years of investigation by men of high ability are sufficient in themselves to fill numerous volumes. We have the records from over twenty series of investigations by scientific bodies, and also a vast literature containing commentary on and criticism of these records, accessible to all who are interested in the matter; but for the reasons stated we shall not enter into the subject further than to indicate the main steps in the investigation of Eusapia as a whole and to state the conclusions to which a study of her case has brought us.

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[1] For Historical cases see: *Æneid*, VII, 800; XI, 784 et seq.; Pliny, *Hist. Nat.*, VII, 2; Silius Italicus, V, 175.

[2] Vol. II, No. 2, p. 105.

[3] Op. cit., p. 14.

The investigations fall into three main periods, each forming a more or less logical and independent series conducted under the supervision of partly different groups of investigators, the first beginning with the labors of the Milan Commission in 1892[1] and ending with the Cambridge sittings in 1895, the second including a number of experiments chiefly by French and Italian savants, and the third and last conducted by members of the English Society for Psychical Research and including sittings in New York before representatives of the American public.

Professor Lombroso's experiments with Eusapia in Naples, which led him to accept her phenomena as genuine, had opened the eyes of scientific men to the seriousness of the problem which her case offered, and as a result a body of illustrious savants, including Professors Schiaparelli, Director of the Observatory of Milan, and Gerosa, the physicist, Dr. Ermacora, M. Aksakov, Councillor to His Majesty of Russia, Dr. Charles du Prel of Munich, Professors Charles Richet of the Sorbonne, and Buffern, and M. Finzi, met in October, 1892, in the latter's home in Milan for the purpose of examining Eusapia's phenomena.[2] The investigation covered seventeen sittings at which were observed phenomena such as telekinesis, once in full light, table movement without contact, apport with the hands of the medium tied loosely to those of her controllers, impressions of fingers on smoked paper, levitation of the medium, apparitions and touchings of

[1] Various experiments preceded and led up to those of the Milan Commission, notably those of Chiaia in 1888 and Lombroso and others in 1891.

[2] *Proceedings, S. P. R.*, ix:218-225; *Annales des Sciences Psychiques*, Jan.-Feb. 1893; Flammarion, "*Mysterious Psychic Forces*," pp. 151-161; Carrington, "*Eusapia Palladino and Her Phenomena*," pp. 29-34; Podmore, "*The Newer Spiritualism*," pp. 89-93.

hands, contact with human faces, but the most striking and best observed phenomena were those of levitation of the table and alteration of the medium's weight, both occurring in full light. The report of the sittings contains a declaration signed by all the sitters with exception of Prof. Richet, and stating that while the results did not always come up to their expectations, and while in the greater number of cases it had been impossible to apply the rules of experimental science regarded as indispensable for obtaining certain and incontestable results in other fields of observation, they did not feel justified to assert that the whole performance had been fraudulent, although this might ultimately prove to be the simplest explanation.[1] Richet comes to the conclusion that although the phenomena were absurd and unsatisfactory, it seems difficult to attribute them to conscious or unconscious fraud or to a series of deception; nevertheless, conclusive proof that there was no fraud on Eusapia's part, or illusion on the part of the observers, is wanting.

We shall not tarry over the less striking phenomena which almost all occurred in darkness. But a few words might be said about the alteration of the medium's weight and the table levitations, because these

[1] We quote from Flammarion's "*Mysterious Psychic Forces*," which gives a reproduction of the report—pp. 151-152. The signed declaration reads as follows: "The results obtained did not always come up to our expectations. Not that we did not secure a large number of facts apparently or really important and marvellous; but, in the greater number of cases we were not able to apply the rules of experimental science which, in other fields of observation, are regarded as indispensable in order to arrive at certain and incontestable results. The most important of those rules consists in changing, one after the other, the methods of experiment, in such a way as to bring out the true cause, or at least the true conditions of all the events. Now it is precisely from this point of view that our experiments seem to us still incomplete."

"It is very true that the medium, to prove her good faith, often voluntarily proposed to change some feature of some or the other experiment, and frequently herself took the initiative in these changes. But this applied only to things that were apparently indifferent, according to our way of seeing. On the contrary, the changes which seemed to us

phenomena were ranked as carrying superior evidence, particularly because of having been observed in good light. Richet has appended photographs of the levitations to his report in the *Annales.*[1]

The first experiment with the medium's weight registered a change of seventeen and a half pounds, but the apparatus employed was not a very suitable one and no conclusion was reached. A better instrument was then devised consisting of a platform suspended by the four corners and attached to a lever which would register the weight automatically. A change in position of an object on the platform would not affect the registration.

While Eusapia was resting on the platform certain slight upward movements were observed, lasting not more than twenty seconds. But it should be noted that although Richet and Schiaparelli assert that she touched neither floor nor table, *her dress was in contact with the floor,* and that *no results were obtained when such contact was prevented,* and, furthermore, that the observers were not certain that the registration of change in weight did not take place at the very moment when Eusapia took hold of the hand of one of their number. In the presence of such conditions there is absolutely no evidence to show that the recorded

necessary to put the true character of the results beyond doubt, either were not accepted as possible or ended in uncertain results.

"We do not believe we have the right to explain these things by the aid of insulting assumptions, which many still find to be the simplest explanation, and of which some journals have made themselves champions. We think, on the contrary, that those experiments are concerned with phenomena of an unknown nature, and we confess that we do not know what the conditions are that are required to produce them. To desire to fix these conditions in our own right and out of our own head would be as extravagant as to presume to make the experiment of Tonicelli's barometer with a tube closed at the bottom, or to make electrostatic experiments in an atmosphere saturated with humidity, or to take a photograph by exposing the sensitive plate in full light before placing it in the camera. However, it is a fact that the impossibility of varying the experiments in our own way has diminished the worth and the interest of the results obtained, by depriving them of that rigorous demonstration which we are right in demanding in cases of this kind, or, rather, to which we ought to aspire."

[1] *Annales des Sciences Psychiques,* 1893.

change was not fraudulently produced by the medium.

There were both partial and complete levitations of the table and a special apparatus was employed to register the pressure brought to bear on it, upward when Eusapia's hands were held on the table, downward when under the table. About seven pounds pressure in either direction was registered during partial levitations, *the end of the table, where the medium was sitting, suffering the pressure.* The hand control seems to have been quite effective. The report says:[1] "In all the experiments which precede, we gave our attention principally to a careful inspection of the position of the hands and feet of the medium; and, in this respect, *we believe we can say that they were safe from all criticism.* Still, a scrupulous sincerity compels us to mention the fact to which we did not begin to call attention before the evening of October 5th, but which probably must have occurred also in the preceding experiments. It consists in this, that the four feet of the table could not be considered as perfectly isolated during the levitation, because one of them at least was in contact with the lower edge of the medium's dress." . . . . "One of us having been charged with the duty of hindering this contact, the table was unable to rise as before, and it only did rise when the observer intentionally permitted the contact to take place." The reporter then asks: "Now, in what way is it possible for the contact of a light dress-stuff with the lower extremity of the foot of a table to assist in the levitation?" Well, we shall see!

Professor Richet wishing to continue the experiments with Eusapia with a view to obtaining evidence of a more satisfactory character invited some distinguished men to investigate her mediumship in his home on the *Ile de Roubaud.* His invitation was accepted

[1] See Flammarion, "*Mysterious Psychic Forces,*" p. 155.

by Sir Oliver Lodge, Mr. F. W. H. Myers, and Dr. Ochorowicz, and by Professor and Mrs. Henry Sidgwick and Sir William Crookes, which latter arrived for the later part of the sittings. The experiments which began in July, 1894, were after some time transferred from the island to Carquieranne.[1]

Four sittings were held and the usual phenomena were exhibited, including raps, tilts and levitations of the table in full light, telekinetic phenomena of a certain variety, playing of musical instruments, touches, faces, and so forth, the most remarkable ones consisting in the winding of a music box, which then began to play and finally was torn from the string by which it was suspended, and in the turning of a key in a door seven feet from the medium, which key subsequently was brought to the table and again replaced in the keyhole.

Richet, Lodge and Myers were convinced that some of the phenomena they had witnessed were due to supernatural causes and also Sir William Crookes seems to accept this conclusion; the Sidgwicks were impressed but not convinced. In his report, however, Lodge offers no explanation but asserts that his conviction is mainly based on his observation of telekinetic phenomena in sufficient light to see the objects move, those being the simplest and most definite. And he argues that if the genuineness of some of the phenomena, which would seem impossible, is established, the rest will be the more easily accepted.[2]

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[1] See Oliver Lodge's report on the sittings *in Journal, S. P. R.*, vi:306-360; Carrington, *"Eusapia Palladino and Her Phenomena,"* pp. 38-51; Podmore, *"The Newer Spiritualism,"* pp. 93-97; Hodgson's criticism *in Journal, S. P. R.*, vi:36-55; Reply to Hodgson by Myers, Lodge, Richet and Ochorowicz, Ibid., vii:55-79.

[2] Sir Oliver Lodge's conclusion of his report on the sitting, *in Journal, S. P. R.*, vi:360: "However the facts are to be explained, the possibility of the facts I am constrained to admit. There is no further room in my mind for doubt. Any person without invincible prejudice who had had the same experience, would have come to the same broad conclusion, *viz.:* That things hitherto held impossible do actually occur. If one such fact

The report was sent to Dr. Hodgson, whose long experience and great ability in detecting trickery in mediumistic performances was well known, and in a lengthy reply he shows that the phenomena as described could all have been performed by Eusapia using a special method of freeing one hand or foot.[1] Hodgson's criticism did not disturb the conviction of either Richet or Lodge, but Myers could not deny feeling the weight of his argument.[2] The discussion continued and resulted in Hodgson's acceptance of an invitation to come and witness Eusapia's phenomena.

Dr. Hodgson, who then was secretary for the American Society for Psychical Research, came to England in 1895, and sittings with Eusapia were arranged in Mr. Myers' home in Cambridge.[3] The seances which were held in a series during the months of August and September were attended, besides Hodgson and Mr.

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is clearly established, the conceivability of others may be more readily granted, and I concentrated my attention mainly on what seemed to me the most simple and definite thing, *viz.:* the movement of an untouched object, in sufficient light for no doubt of its motion to exist. This I have now witnessed several times; the fact of movement being vouched for by both sight and hearing, sometimes also by touch, and the objectivity of the phenomena being demonstrated by the sounds heard by an outside observer,* and by permanent alteration of position of object. . . . The effect on an observer is usually more as if the connecting link, if any (between object and living organism of medium), were invisible and intangible, or as if a portion of vital or directing energy had been detached, and were producing distant movements without apparent connection with the medium. . . . The result of my experience is to convince me that certain phenomena usually considered abnormal do belong to the order of nature, and, as a corollary to this, that these phenomena ought to be investigated and recorded by persons and societies interested in natural knowledge."

[1] *Journal, S. P. R.*, vii:36-55.

[2] For their replies to Hodgson and that of Ochorowicz, see *Journal, S. P. R.*, vii:55-79.

[3] *Journal, S. P. R.*, vii:131, 148; Carrington, "*Eusapia Pallidino and Her Phenomena*," pp. 51-57; Podmore, "*The Newer Spiritualism*," pp. 97-98; Flammarion, "*Mysterious Psychic Forces*," p. 168.

*Dr. Ochorowicz from the outside heard the key which later was brought to the table turn in the door.

and Mrs. Myers, by Mr. Nevil Maskelyne, Miss Alice Johnson, and Professor and Mrs. Sidgwick.

The result of the Cambridge experiments was to confirm beyond any doubt Dr. Hodgson's hypothesis, for fraud was detected again and again in actual operation and the experimenters unanimously adopted the conclusion that they had witnessed nothing but trickery.

There are several points to be noted. First of all the tricks were found to be effected by Eusapia using one hand or foot which she succeeded in freeing from the control employed. Sometimes, it seems, she employed her head. Mr. Myers states that the experimenters in several cases at first sight were favorably impressed with the phenomena, and only by making changes in the conditions were able to ascertain that fraud was practiced. This goes to show what undoubtedly would have been the result *had they been content with mere observation and not insisted upon changing the conditions.* It also shows that Eusapia possessed great skill in prestidigitation which could have been gained only by years of systematic trickery. Fraud was attempted even when the tests were at their best, and, Myers states, practiced both in her waking state and in her real or simulated trance.[1]

The Cambridge exposure led the Society for Psychical Research to drop the investigation of Eusapia. But the world was not convinced. Hardly had the news of the exposures been published before a storm of discussions broke loose, and arguments for

[1]From F. W. H. Myers' report *in Journal, S. P. R.,* vii:133: "I can not doubt that we observed much conscious and deliberate fraud, of a kind which must have needed long practice to bring it to its present level of skill. Nor can I find any excuse for her fraud (assuming that such excuse would be valid) in the attitude of mind of the persons, several of them distinguished in the world of science, who assisted in the inquiry. Their attitude was a fair and open one; in all cases they showed patience, and in several cases the impression first made on their minds was distinctly favorable. With growing experience, however, and careful observation of the precise conditions permitted or refused to us, the existence of some fraud became clear; and fraud was attempted when the tests

and against Eusapia made their appearance both in the literature devoted to the subject and in the English daily press.

Dr. Maxwell severely criticized the results of the experiments on the grounds that the attitude of the investigators towards Eusapia was one of haughtiness and disdain, which made her ill at ease and prevented her from making use of her mediumistic powers. He adds that the unaccustomed climate coupled with the undue length of the sittings exhausted her. She was physically and morally unfit for the task imposed upon her.[1]

But this is partly in contradiction to Myers' statement,[2] in which he says that he fails to find an excuse for Eusapia's fraud in the attitude of mind of those present, which was a fair and open one, free from impatience. Both Myers and the Sidgwicks had been sitting with Eusapia before, and it would be strange if persons of their insight in matters psychological should have failed to correct or at least make due allowances for so adverse conditions.

Mr. Carrington has no difficulty in pointing out the exact cause of Eusapia's failure. It has always been well known that she would resort to trickery under lax control, and the lax control employed at Cambridge induced her to practice fraud at every seance.[3]

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were as good as we were allowed to make them, quite as indisputably as on the few occasions when our holding was intentionally left inadequate in order to trace more exactly the *modus operandi*. Moreover, the fraud occurred both in the medium's waking state and during her real or alleged trance.

"I do not think there is adequate reason to suppose that any of the phenomena at Cambridge were genuine."

Professor Sidgwick *in Journal, S. P. R.*, vii:231, says: "Inasmuch as trickery has been systematically practised, apparently, by Eusapia Palladino for years, I propose to ignore her performances in the future as those of other persons engaged in the same mischievous trade are to be ignored."

[1] In "*Metaphysical Phenomena*," quoted by Carrington *in* "*Eusapia Palladino and Her Phenomena*," pp. 55-56.

[2] See p. 153, note 1.

[3] "*Eusapia Palladino and Her Phenomena*," p. 54: ". . . there is a reason for the fraud that Eusapia resorted to at Cambridge, and those

Of course, what he says contradicts Mr. Myers' statement that the control was good except on a few occasions when laxity was allowed. And she attempted trickery when the tests were as good as they could be. Both Mr. Myers and the Sidgwicks were present at Richet's sittings with Eusapia in 1894 and consequently knew the manner of control employed there. Why should they now be satisfied with laxer control? And they also knew that Eusapia would resort to fraud when the control was not sufficiently strict. Our main argument against the critics is that they contradict or ignore the facts stated in the report on the experiments.

Eusapia's reverses at Cambridge did not greatly shake the faith of her continental investigators and admirers, nor of Sir Oliver Lodge. Between the years 1895 and 1907 no less than twelve different series of experiments were undertaken by different savants in France and Italy, among whom appear besides the names of Lombroso, Richet and Ochorowicz, those of Professor Morselli, Doctors Foà and Herlitzka, M. Bergson, M. and Mme. Curie, Professor Botazzi and of many others. The Institute Générale Psychologique of Paris arranged a series of sittings extending over four years (1905-1908) and including no less than forty-three sittings.[1]

The phenomena during this period showed little or no variation from those previously presented. In the

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investigators who have had much experience with her had no difficulty in pointing out exactly what the cause of this was. It has always been well known that if Eusapia were allowed to trick her sitters she would do so, and the policy of the English investigators had been, not to endeavor to prevent phenomena by rigorous control, but to allow great laxity, to permit her to substitute her hands when she desired, and merely note the results. Eusapia finding that she could effect substitution of hands with ease, and apparently without detection, naturally resorted to this device at each seance. . . ."

[1] See Carrington, "*Eusapia Palladino and Her Phenomena*," pp. 57-151.

beginning table-levitation, telekinesis and apport mainly filled the seances, later apparitions and partial materializations came into prominence, while a favored few were allowed to witness more complete materializations and even experience the more personal and intimate phases of this marvel.

Taken as a whole the new investigations do not inspire much confidence. A number of accounts and reports impresses us above all with the credulity and apparently uncritical attitude of the investigator. The narrative often runs off in the wildest romance, the tables and objects no longer being moved about by invisible forces, but taking life they execute a mad pantomime of dancing, speaking and laughing.

The most interesting feature of this period of investigation is the employment of physical apparatus for testing the genuineness of the phenomena. Professor Lombroso aided by Dr. Imoda and Dr. Andenino held sittings in Turin in 1907, at which a *"tambourine Marey"* was placed on a table near the cabinet and connected with rubber tubes with a cardiograph in the cabinet and a Morse apparatus on the experiment table. The object in employing this apparatus was to obtain on the smoked surface of the "tambourine" a diagrammatic registration of pressure exerted by the medium on the Morse key and at the same time that of the invisible force on the button of the cardiograph and to ascertain whether the two impressions would be synchronic. According to the report published in *La Stampa* and quoted at length by Carrington[1] the apparatus began to register at the fourth seance, drawing a diagram corresponding to the pressure on the cardiograph in the cabinet, and this happened while the medium's hands were in the hands of her controllers. It is also stated that the distance between the medium

[1] *"Eusapia Palladino and Her Phenomena,"* pp. 89-100; see particularly pp. 93 and 99-100.

and the cabinet was such that it would have been impossible for her to reach the cardiograph. The experiment fully convinced the reporter that the instrument had registered an unknown force. But as will be seen, the report as it stands does not offer adequate evidence for the absence of fraud.[1]

To begin with, the desired double registration of synchronic pressure, partly on the Morse key on the seance table, partly on the cardiograph in the cabinet, failed to occur. No doubt, to effect it by trickery would have been no easy matter. And thus we are deprived of an automatic record of the synchronism between the movements of the medium's hands or body and those of objects in the cabinet so frequently observed at Eusapia's seances. This is the more lamentable as it might have helped to dispel our suspicion that there is a more intimate relation between the two movements than that of mere synchronism.

The account states that the distance between the medium and the cardiograph was such as to exclude the possibility of the medium manipulating the instrument. No doubt, the reporter has his grounds for such a statement. But, was the distance measured? And what, precisely, did it measure? We do not know, but at the beginning of the seance a hand issued from the curtain near the head of one of the controllers (who

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[1] From Carrington, Op. cit., pp. 99-100: "Dr. Andenino thought sadly of his Marey apparatus, which for three evening had not been used, and looked to see if the smoked paper had not been touched, when suddenly a slight sound indicated that the needle of the apparatus was moving. Dr. Andenino at once put the tambourine in action, and our ears perceived for a few seconds the scratching of a pen, which made long jumps on the smoked surface of the tambourine in such a manner as to correspond to the pressure exerted inside on the cardiograph, tracing a curious and variable diagram. The cabinet was quite empty and the medium's hands were, as always, in the hands of the controllers. Moreover, the distance between the cardiograph and the medium's chair was such that, even had she wished to, she could not have succeeded in pressing it with her hands.

"This phenomenon finally eliminates all suspicion. We have no longer merely the testimony or our senses, but that of a metal instrument. . . ."

was further removed from it than was the medium) and seized his hand, and later the curtain swelled out and advanced to his hand. Evidently the distance between the sitters and the cabinet could not have been very considerable, and Eusapia usually insisted upon sitting close to the curtain.

Again, there is the rubber tube leading from the "tambourine" to the cardiograph, and a pressure on which would have affected the recording needle. Was this tube out of Eusapia's reach? The report gives us no information on that point. Nor does it show that the hand and foot control was such as to prevent Eusapia from resorting to her usual trick.

In the course of his experiments with Eusapia Palladino in the same year Dr. Foà placed on the table a toy piano the keys of which were capable of manipulation, and covered it with a cardboard box which was fastened down with sealed ribbons. Of course, it would have been impossible for the medium to touch the keys unless the box were removed, a thing which would necessitate the breaking of the seals. The piano was heard to play when the lights had been turned out, but subsequently it was found that the box had been unfastened and that one of the ribbons was missing.[1]

It would be tedious to record further experiments with automatically recording apparatus; be it enough to state that in every case where the apparatus has been adequately protected from manipulation by the medium one of two things has resulted: either the protecting material has been broken or removed, and registration obtained, or else, when this could not be done, the apparatus has failed to register, and thus, there is not one instance of proof of absence of fraud given by means of automatic registration.[2]

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[1] See Carrington, Op. cit., pp. 101-102.

[2] Ibid., pp. 103, 105, 108, and Podmore, "*The Newer Spiritualism*," p. 102.

The investigation undertaken by the *Institute Générale Psychologique* was carried out by a committee including M. Jules Courtier, Secretary of the *Institute*, M. M. d'Arsonval, Ballet, Richet, Perrin, M. and Mme. Curie and others. M. Courtier published the official report in two parts, the first of which is a collection of photographs taken at the sittings, while the second contains a description of the phenomena observed, a psycho-physiological study of the medium, an account of the physical conditions surrounding her, and, finally, critical consideration.[1]

The physical examination of Eusapia's person and that of the air in the cabinet failed to reveal anything that is not found in other mortals and their surroundings. As a fact, the whole of the considerable labor of the members of the *Institute* brought to light nothing of a startling character, and its result was chiefly negative. The critical part is mainly concerned with the unsatisfactory character of the control which Eusapia would allow. Rarely does she consent to have both hands held but insists upon holding one of them on the hand of her neighbor. The same is the case with her feet, her right foot having a sore corn which makes her unable to sustain the pressure of her neighbor's foot upon it. And the committee is of the opinion that the only effective foot control would be that exerted by a person holding the medium's feet under the table. But Eusapia is very particular in regard to the position of her observers, and as a rule she will permit none under the table. Nor will she permit an observer behind her or near the scene of action, consequently the controllers also have to play the rôle of main observers, a thing which necessarily strains their attention, and makes them liable to be diverted from their control by the occurrence of unexpected phenomena. Another source

[1] For summary of the phenomena see *Annals of Psychical Science*, July-Sept., 1909, pp. 400-422. See also Carrington, Op. cit., pp. 129-134.

of distraction is created by Eusapia's request for conversation among those present. All attempts to introduce more satisfactory conditions of test were invariably rejected by Eusapia.

We shall now refer to some particular observations of interest.[1] One night when the seance-room was dimly illuminated by the faint gas light from the street Eusapia was sitting with M. Courtier as her right and M. de Mech as her left control. The latter then noticed her freeing her right hand, at the same time placing her left little finger between two fingers of M. Courtier's left hand so as to make him believe that he had hold of her right thumb. At this moment a white arm was seen opening the curtain and a head made its appearance thrusting itself with a cry towards M. Courtier, who then felt the touch of two hands on his shoulders and through the curtain the contact of a face with his face. Eusapia had just freed herself from her two controllers, and so rapid were her movements that when the shock of being touched was over M. Courtier found her right hand on his left.

At one of the seances Eusapia's chair and feet rested upon a platform so arranged that possible changes in her weight would be registered, and it was ascertained that for each levitation of the table or of other objects there was a corresponding increase in her weight. There were also experiments with a small balance, and the usual results were obtained. The balance was surrounded with a wooden frame with linen or wooden panels to fit, and it was not until first the panels and then the frame had been removed that she succeeded in moving the balance. When the top of the balance was covered with lamp-black she was unable to affect it, and when a balance having a disc of paper was employed, it moved down, but the paper crackled just as

[1] *Report*, pp. 524-525.

it would if pushed down with a stretched hair or thread. Once during similar experiments an isolated observer saw a hair between her hands.[1]

After their four years of investigation the members of the committee passed the verdict that whereas fraud had been practiced by Eusapia they hesitated to say that fraud is the final conclusion, and the methods of automatic recording occasionally employed exclude the possibility of hallucination as an explanatory factor. In general, they are of the opinion that her phenomena are losing in power, a result, no doubt, of her growing old, and that she resorts to fraud in order not to disappoint her clients.

In 1908 the Society for Psychical Research decided to reconsider the case of Eusapia, and Mr. Carrington with the Honorable Everard Feilding and Mr. Baggally, who is an amateur conjurer, went to Naples, where sittings were arranged with the celebrated medium. In all, eleven seances were held, and a stenographic record was kept, giving, besides an account of the phenomena as observed by the investigators, also detailed notes on the conditions of control, light, etc., as they were at the time when the different phenomena occurred.[2]

The value of the investigation, we think, has been justly estimated by Mr. Podmore, who writes:[3]

"The Committee are certainly not inferior in general capacity to any previous investigators, and their practical experience is probably unrivaled. The record is as nearly as possible perfect. No other record of the physical phenomena of spiritualism, it may be said, is of any value beside it. And yet the record . . . . .

[1] Report, p. 521.

[2] For the report see: Carrington, *"Eusapia Palladino and Her Phenomena,"* pp. 152-240, and *Proceedings, S. P. R.*, xxiii:309-570.

[3] *"The Newer Spiritualism,"* p. 141.

is at critical moments incomplete, and at almost every point leaves obvious loopholes for trickery . . . . . The events of the three most important seances[1] can be readily explained if we assume, what the record itself seems to indicate, that a single person was hallucinated . . . . . and a single sense, the sense of touch. We can not blame the individual members of the Committee. Rather, we must recognize that the task which they set themselves to perform is probably beyond human power. In no other field of human activity is the strained and unremitting exercise of every sense faculty for several consecutive hours demanded by the circumstances."

We regret that an adequate criticism of this highly interesting report would be too lengthy to find a place here. Mr. Podmore reaches his conclusion as to its evidential value by a process of elimination, the validity of which we do not think can be refuted and which we shall represent in its main outline.

Of the eleven seances, eight were held with members of the Committee controlling the medium on both sides,[2] and one of those was a complete failure.[3] During the three remaining seances when other persons were in full or partial control the greatest abundance of "higher" phenomena took place.[4] It is very significant that this latter group should show a great abundance of "higher" phenomena, and it may not be simply coincidence that it occurred when the control was in the hands of "outsiders." At any rate the very fact of "outside" control necessarily reduces the value of this group.

Of the larger group one seance was a failure, leaving seven for our consideration. Of these three were

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[1] Seances V, VI, VII. See Podmore, Op. cit., pp. 133 et seq.
[2] Seances I-III, V-VII, IX, X.
[3] Seances X.
[4] Seances IV, VIII. XI.

held with Messrs. Carrington and Feilding controlling,[1] and the remaining with the control of Mr. Baggally and Mr. Feilding,[2] the former having taken the latter's place by request of the medium, excepting one, when Mr. Carrington and Mr. Baggally controlled.[3] The first of these groups shows hardly any "higher" phenomena—the only exceptions being the transportation of a small table from the cabinet to the seance table,[4] and the appearance of a square-looking head on a long, black neck at a time when the Feilding control was interrupted. The transportation of the table took place when the light was lowered to a degree to allow the sitters to "distinguish merely the outlines

[1] I-III.

[2] V-VII.

[3] IX.

[4] The following description given in the report, quoted from Carrington, Op. cit., pp. 175 et seq.:

(Eusapia's legs were tied by means of ropes to the chairs of the controllers, the ropes being first passed round each ankle, knotted, and then carried to the chair legs, where they were securely fastened.—Op. cit., pp. 172-173—Feilding (F) right control, Carrington (C) left.) "11:30 P. M.

C.—The left curtain has blown right out on to the table.

C.—My right hand was under the table firmly holding the medium's left hand.

F.—I have hold of her right hand continuously in her lap.

C.—Medium holds my right hand firmly.

F.—The medium kicks with her right foot violently on mine.

C.—She kicks with her left foot also.

C.—Her left hand raises my right hand towards the curtain.

F.—Objects in the cabinet rattle on the table.

F.—Medium asks me to put my left arm on her shoulder. Her right arm is around my neck.

C.—With her left hand medium is holding my right hand on the table.

C.—Objects in the cabinet fall over on the table. She grasped my right hand firmly in her left hand at the time this was going on and pressed on my right foot with her left foot.

F.—I held her right hand on the table with my left and the tips of both her feet under the table with my right hand.

C.—My left hand holds her head. I am holding her left hand in my right.

"Immediately after this, the small table, which had been placed in the cabinet and upon which rested the various musical instruments, climbed up of its own accord on to the seance table. It came up, remaining behind the curtains, so that it was invisible. Several objects remained on the surface of the table—kept there by the pressure of the curtain upon them. It came up at an angle of about forty-five degrees, and, while it was en-

of the medium's body, and the details of her head and hand upon close inspection."[1]

Mr. Carrington in his "*The Physical Phenomena of Spiritualism*" gives a number of interesting examples of the skill of conjurers in untying and tying ropes with which they have been bound.[2] With a little skill in the art Eusapia could have freed herself, and this may well have taken place when the kicking occurred. Under such circumstances she could have used one foot with which to bring about the phenomena. Now, it is true that Mr. Feilding is on record to have held the tips of her feet—but, perhaps, one of her shoes was empty.

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deavoring to clamber up on the seance table by a series of jerks, I placed my hand and elbow upon its surface and pressed downward in an attempt to force it to the floor. I experienced a peculiar elastic resistance, however, as though the table were strung on rubber bands and was unable to force it downward. I continued this struggle for several seconds, then yielded and allowed the table to clamber on to our seance table, which it almost succeeded in doing. While this was happening, we verified, several times, that our control of head, hands, elbows, feet and knees was secure."

[1] Carrington, Op. cit., p. 175.

[2] pp. 143 et seq. The following is a description of the Davenport Brothers' performance (pp. 154-155): "The first task is the binding of the two Americans. All present agree in selecting, for the performance of this delicate task, a veteran naval officer, who is expert in knots of every description, and in whose skill every one appears to have the utmost confidence." The ropes are tested and the men searched. "The Americans step into the cabinet, and place themselves on the seats to which they are to be tied. Our naval representative takes a cord, marks it, to make sure that there is no substitution; he takes note of its precise length, and then, by means of regular 'sailors' knots,' hitherto reputed invincible, he ties up, first one brother, then the other. He pinions their arms to their sides, ties their legs firmly together; in fact, he so ties and lashes them to their seats and to the cross rails, that every one regards the defeat of the Americans as a foregone conclusion; they must, beyond a doubt, be driven to cry for quarter." . . . scarcely have the doors to the cabinet been closed, "than we see appear . . . the arms of the right hand prisoner—still rosy with the friction of the famous 'sailors' knots.' . . . A little later, and the three doors (to the cabinet) are opened. We see the two brothers, with smiling countenances, step down from the cabinet freed from their bonds, which they now carry in their hands. More than ten minutes had been occupied in tying them up; a single minute had sufficed for their release.

"The first feat concluded, the young men again step into the cabinet, and take their seats. The cords are laid in a heap at their feet, and the doors closed. Two minutes later, the doors are opened, and we find the mediums again in bondage."

The second group has three seances with "higher" phenomena, and one, when Mr. Carrington had taken Mr. Feilding's place, completely devoid of them.[1] Throughout the three seances the higher phenomena occurred on the right side of the medium, which was controlled by Mr. Baggally. They all occurred within reach of Eusapia's right hand and foot, and consequently could be the result of trickery on her part if we assume that Mr. Baggally was deceived in thinking that he was in touch with her limbs in question. Mr. Podmore gives three reasons for thinking that this was actually the case.[2] First, Eusapia's right hand is reported as resting on or upon Mr. Baggally's left hand, while her left generally is securely held by the other controller. Secondly, on many occasions the curtain was covering his arm and hand or he was holding the medium's hand through or under it. These two circumstances can not fail to have weakened Mr. Baggally's control, and consequently to have aided Eusapia in fraudulent performances with her right hand. Finally, she was often found to go through the well-known preliminaries for substitution of hands, and this occurred just before the phenomena were observed. Taken all in all these circumstances can not fail to force us to admit that there is not sufficient evidence to deny the possibility of fraud in the seances.[3]

Mr. Carrington being anxious to establish the genuineness of Eusapia's phenomena before savants of the United States brought her to New York in 1909, where several sittings were held towards the end of that year and in the beginning of 1910. At the first sittings on December 13, 16 and 18 there were present Mr. G. B.

[1] No. IX.
[2] "*The Newer Spiritualism*," pp. 133-135.
[3] This opinion is upheld also by Mr. W. S. Davis; see *Am. Journal, S. P. R.*, iv:401-424.

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Dorr, Professor Hugo Münsterberg and others, Professor Trowbridge of Princeton taking part in the second seance.[1] The phenomenon consisted mainly of levitations of the table, movement of objects from the cabinet, swelling of the curtain and touches. The levitations took place in good light, but the rest of the phenomena occurred when the light was so poor that objects were hardly discernible.[2]

After the two first seances the sitters were quite puzzled, and unable to explain what they had witnessed. During the third seance while Professor Münsterberg was controlling on the left a young man had, unseen by the medium, crawled upon the floor into the cabinet, where he saw Eusapia's left foot fishing about for objects. He immediately seized the foot, Eusapia let out a yell and the seance was broken up. It is interesting to note that while Eusapia's foot actually was in the cabinet Professor Münsterberg continuously felt the pressure thereof on his right foot. In his article he states that the medium had lifted her foot freed from the shoe to the height of his arm and was fishing with it in the cabinet. On the strength of this statement we would think that what he felt pressing against his foot was Eusapia's empty shoe. But Mr. Carrington[3] refers to a letter from the man who caught her foot, and who is not at all sure that her heel was bare, and furthermore states that the foot as a matter of fact was not bare. We can not settle the disputed point, but the fact is nevertheless significant, and should be noted that while her foot was actually free, Professor Münsterberg had the definite sensation of touch with it.

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[1] G. B. Dorr *in Journal, S. P. R.*, xiv:267 et seq.; Prof. Hyslop *in Am. Journal, S. P. R.*, iv:169; Hugo Münsterberg in *The Metropolitan Magazine*, Vol. 31, No. 5, pp. 559-572 (Feb. 1910); Flournoy, "*Spiritism and Psychology*," p. 282, and Carrington's Introduction, pp. 16, 17; Hyslop, "*Eusapia Palladino*"; Podmore, "*The Newer Spiritualism*," p. 143.

[2] *Journal, S. P. R.*, xiv:268.

[3] Flournoy, "*Spiritism and Psychology*," p. 284, translator's note.

In April new sittings were held in the house of Professor Lord of Columbia University,[1] and while Eusapia's attention was drawn in other directions two controllers secreted themselves on the floor under the table where they could observe how Eusapia unnoticed by the ordinary controllers would free one foot, and with it perform the phenomena of table levitation, swelling of the curtain, movement of objects in the cabinet, and so on. There, at least, we have positive proof of fraudulent production, gained by the fact that Eusapia was unaware of the presence of the controllers under the table.

A new series of five sittings was held in Naples in November and December, 1910.[2] The first of these, attended by Count and Countess Solovovo and Mr. Feilding, was a failure, and the phenomena observed in the third, fourth and fifth were in the opinion of three sitters mainly, and in that of Mr. W. Marriott wholly, fraudulent. The second seance showed only insignificant phenomena and led to no conclusion.

During the sittings Eusapia was noticed to shake the curtain, throw it over her shoulder, pull at it with her hands or elbow and to kick it. She would use her left foot for producing the phenomenon of touch and for moving objects, while her elbow was employed for upsetting the cabinet-table. There is a curious example of her releasing one hand without effecting substitution. Mr. Feilding and Mr. Marriott distinctly saw Eusapia removing her hand from its position resting upon the back of Countess Solovovo's hand, on the table and under the curtain. Yet, the Countess had the distinct impression of its continuous grasp.[3] Count

[1] *Collier's Weekly*, May 14, 1910.
[2] *Proceedings, S. P. R.*, xxv:57-69.
[3] Ibid., p. 58.

Solovovo ascribes this fact to tactile hallucination induced by the medium,[1] whereas Miss Alice Johnson thinks it was due to a "negative hallucination," an everyday fact consisting therein that the sensation of touch often will remain some time after actual contact with an object has ceased.[2] Whatever may be the explanation, the fact remains, and is of greatest value in showing the unsatisfactory character of tactile control.

We have devoted considerable space to the investigations of Eusapia Palladino's mediumship. As will have been seen the twenty years of labor expended upon a study of her phenomena has failed to bring positive evidence for their ever being genuine. On the other hand, while fraud and fraudulent methods have been found in abundance, we can not positively say that all the phenomena are spurious. Nevertheless, while granting so much, we think that there is a very strong argument for the probability that not a single phenomenon exhibited by the medium was genuine.

First of all, the usual method of control employed at her seances is fully inadequate for preventing fraud being successfully practiced. This has been pointed out in detail in connection with the investigation by the *Institute* of Paris. She invariably dictates the conditions of control, providing for one hand and foot being freed, and preventing observers from placing themselves in inconvenient positions to her. It is impossible for the two controllers, whose duty it is to watch her hands and feet, to fulfill this duty and at the same time observe the phenomena. She generally refuses to submit to methods which would prevent her using her legs and feet in the performances, such as screens placed round her knees and feet, or, when she submits to them, phenomena cease to occur.

[1] Op. cit., p. 60.
[2] Ibid., p. 67-68.

Only a few phenomena take place in good or tolerable light—chiefly table levitation and telekinesis. The majority are exhibited in almost complete darkness when the inadequacy of the control is greatly increased.

The cabinet will always remain a source of suspicion, and in Eusapia's case not only do the best phenomena originate in the cabinet, but they grow stronger the closer she sits to the cabinet.[1] She will not allow an observer in the cabinet, nor between her and it. The curtains play an important rôle in her performances, their swelling out till they touch and envelop the medium or one of the controllers, or at least their hands and arms, often being a preliminary to other phenomena. Touches and blows are usually administered through the curtain. Furthermore, her dress seems to partake in the function of the curtains; at least up to the Naples seances in 1908 table levitation could not be obtained unless her dress was in contact with one of the legs of the table.

At times photographic control has been employed, and as often as the photographs have revealed apparently genuine phenomena the arrangements in their making have been directed by Eusapia. But the fallacy of photographic control will be shown by the following incident. The Committee of the *Institute* was making photographs of levitations of objects, which are reproduced in its report. There are three photographs taken from a position facing the medium and showing a foot-stool against the background of the dark curtain apparently floating above the head of the medium. But a fourth photograph taken at the same moment as the third, but from the side, shows the same stool resting on her head. She ceased to levitate the foot-stool after this exposure.[2]

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[1] Carrington admits this—"*Eusapia Palladino and Her Phenomena*," p. 329.

[2] Podmore, "*The Newer Spiritualism*," p. 106.

The phenomena occur at Eusapia's will or at the will of "John King" and are often announced a moment before their occurrence. Mostly they are exhibited so near the medium that she could easily have effected them with her hands or feet. There is not a single phenomenon on record which could not in itself have been reproduced by a conjurer, occasionally with the aid of insignificant apparatus.

Eusapia's methods of trickery, including that of substitution of hands and feet, when detected by her observers has revealed a skill which would postulate years of training. This was the opinion of the Cambridge investigators. When phenomena occur her body executes convulsive movements which would largely conceal fraud on her part.

The abundance and quality of her phenomena depend upon the constitution of her audience. With French and Italian controllers and observers they have reached a greater height than with those of the more phlegmatic temperament of the Englishman. During the Naples seances in 1908 hardly a single phenomenon of importance occurred while Mr. Carrington was in control. The first sittings with a certain audience are never as good as subsequent ones, and they improve gradually, in proportion as the sitters gain conviction in her favor. It would seem that she depends for her success upon the benevolent frame of mind of her observers. Gradually she convinces them that her phenomena are genuine, and thus, gradually she puts them off their guard and influences their imagination. That she depends on psychological causes for her success will be shown by the fact that she has been caught in fraudulent production with her hands and feet while her controllers were convinced that they were in touch with theirs. We refer to her fishing in the cabinet with her right foot, at the New York sittings, while Professor Münsterberg was certain that he felt this

same foot pressing against his, and Mr. Carrington declares that the foot in question, when caught, was in its shoe; and to her performance with her hand in Naples in 1910, while Countess Solovovo had the distinct impression of its being held against hers. It has been frequently recorded that a pressure of her hands and feet against those of her controller precede her phenomena.

Finally all experiments undertaken with automatically registering apparatus of one kind or other, so constructed that manipulation would be excluded or recorded, have either failed to show even the slightest symptoms of phenomena, or else recorded that fraud had been perpetrated.

The phenomena of materialization have been exhibited by a great many physical mediums under the ordinary conditions of test, and perhaps the most remarkable case is that of Katie King, Sir William Crookes' spirit-guest. While other "materialized spirits" have made their appearance in seance-rooms merely to be seen for a moment, and to deliver some message, Katie, in apparently full human form and with all the properties of life, would remain with Sir William for hours, allow herself to be touched and photographed—and also kissed—and engage in the most natural manner in the conversation of the company.

The very idea of a spirit being "materialized" into such complete human likeness, including clothing to all appearances of the same description as the productions of human dressmakers, would make one inclined to reject the whole affair as a bold imposture, were it not for the testimony of so eminent a scientist as Sir William, and it is because of his testimony, and only on that ground, that we think the case should be given a full and close consideration.

We are not here concerned with the question of the possibility of the phenomenon as presented in the accounts published by Sir William, for no more here than in regard to other physical phenomena are we able or justified in dogmatizing. In accordance with the principles we have stated before we wish to establish whether or not the evidence at hand gives positive proof that the phenomenon is genuine. And in Sir William's own words the question, in so far as we can see it, resolves itself to this, whether "when the form which calls itself 'Katie' is visible in the room, the body of Miss Cook is . . . . actually in the cabinet or is not there."[1]

The first seance reported by Sir William was held in the house of Mr. Luxmore, the cabinet being a back drawing-room separated by a curtain from the front room where the company was sitting. The cabinet having been examined Miss Cook entered it, and "after a little time the form Katie appeared at the side of the curtain, but soon retreated, saying her medium was not well, and could not be put into a sufficiently deep sleep to make it safe for her to be left."

Sir William admits that the figure was startlingly life-like and in the dim light prevailing resembled Miss Cook. But he finds sufficient evidence to prove that the phenomenon was not a case of impersonation by Miss Cook in the fact that "a sobbing, moaning sound, identical with that which Miss Cook had been making at intervals the whole time of the seance, came from behind the curtain where the young lady was supposed to be sitting." This evidence he considers unshakable.[2] To our mind this greatly weakens the value of any evidence put forth by Sir William, who ought to have known that by some skill in ventriloquism Miss Cook could easily have staged the marvel.

[1] *Researches, etc.*, p. 102.
[2] Ibid., pp. 102-3.

Sir William presents the following cases as giving "absolute proof" to Katie and Miss Cook being two separate material beings.

The first case is that of a seance of March 12, 1874, held in Sir William's home,[1] the library serving as cabinet. Having retired to the cabinet after some time of conversation with the sitters Katie again appeared at the curtain and asked Sir William to come into the library and lift her medium's head. The cabinet was dark and Katie was clothed in her white robes and turban. Sir William writes: "I immediately walked into the library up to Miss Cook, Katie stepping aside to allow me to pass. I found Miss Cook had slipped partially off the sofa, and her head was hanging in a very awkward position. I lifted her onto the sofa, and in so doing had satisfactory evidence, in spite of the darkness, that Miss Cook was not attired in the "Katie" costume, but had on her ordinary black velvet dress, and was in a deep trance. Not more than three seconds elapsed between my seeing the white-robed Katie standing before me and my raising Miss Cook onto the sofa from the position into which she had fallen."[2] Katie reappeared upon Sir William's returning to his post of observation.

First of all, the cabinet was dark, and it necessarily must have taken Sir William some time to reach the couch on which Miss Cook was found lying. He estimated this time to be at the most three seconds, but he did not verify this by his watch—he could not have verified it in the darkness. Supposing that the Katie who met him at the curtain in reality was Miss Cook attired in a turban and with a white robe over her black velvet dress, what would have prevented her from hastily discarding the "Katie-dress" and flinging herself upon the couch before it could be reached by Sir

[1] *Researches, etc.*, pp. 105-107.
[2] Ibid., p. 105.

William, and then, upon that gentleman's leaving the cabinet, again assuming it? The hypothesis presupposes nothing beyond a little alertness on her part.

Katie then promised to show herself together with the medium, and Sir William again entered the cabinet illuminated by a phosphorus lamp. But all he saw was Miss Cook, Katie having completely disappeared.

The second case is recorded from a seance at Hackney on March 29th the same year. Katie had been walking about the room for nearly two hours, during which time she had taken Sir William's arm on several occasions and even allowed him to embrace her. He testifies that there was nothing to suggest that he did not hold a young lady in his arms. Finally, carrying the phosphorus lamp in his hand, he followed Katie into the cabinet, where he began to feel about for Miss Cook, whom he then found in her black costume crouching on the floor and to all appearances senseless. Then raising the lamp he saw "Katie standing close behind Miss Cook. She was robed in flowing white drapery as (he) had seen her previously during the *seance*." Holding Miss Cook's hand he now three times moved the lamp from one figure to the other, satisfying himself that it was really a living woman lying before him and that the white-robed form had an objective reality. Moreover, he saw Katie's face when she moved and smiled on him. Finally, upon a sign from Katie, he left the cabinet.[1]

Let us first note that the seances usually were held in Sir William's home, but that this particular one was given in a house in Hackney. We are told nothing regarding the arrangement of the seance-room and the cabinet doors, windows, etc. During the previous seances Sir William had become convinced of Katie's identity. In order to present proof to the public he

[1] *Researches, etc.*, pp. 105-107.

was desirous of being able to give a record of having seen Miss Cook and Katie simultaneously, and Katie had promised to show herself together with Miss Cook. There is absolutely nothing to show that Miss Cook did not have a confederate introduced into the cabinet at the proper moment, and the rôle the confederate would have to play was an easy one. She did not have to move or talk, but merely in the light from a phosphorus lamp look like a girl draped in white, smile, and, upon sign from Miss Cook, dismiss Sir William with a gesture. Absolutely any young woman could have done it.

In a previous chapter we have referred to photographs taken both of Miss Cook and of Katie, which show slight differences in the bodily structure of the "two ladies." How easily this could have been arranged, by stretching, tip-toeing or slightly bending the knees, and by turning the face differently for different exposures, seems almost superfluous to point out.

In the whole of the evidence presented by Sir William to prove that Katie King was not identical with Miss Cook, or, at least on one occasion, with a confederate, there is nothing whatsoever to carry conviction.

The phantom of the Villa Carmen showed the same likeness to life as did Katie King.[1] Prof. Richet in his report says that it was not the medium disguised, nor a confederate parading in Arab costume, and af-

[1] Richet *in The Annals of Psychical Science*, Oct.-Nov., 1905, says (pp. 269-270): "This personality is neither an image reflected by a mirror, nor a doll, nor a manikin. Indeed, it possesses all the attributes of life. I have seen it emerge from the cabinet, walk, go, and come into the room. I have heard the sound of its footsteps, its breathing, and its voice. This hand was articulated, warm, flexible; I have been enabled through the drapery with which it was covered to feel the wrist, the carpal and the metacarpal bones. . . . The phantom also blew through an India-rubber tube into a flask of barite water, which bubbled, proving that the respiration of this phantom produced carbonic acid . . ."

firms that he took all necessary precautions against fraud, but he fails to give us the details of these precautions.

At the time of the experiment with the barite water, Aischa, the negress, was sitting, supposedly with Mlle. Marthe, in the cabinet, and when Bien Boa, standing inside the cabinet and close to the curtain, bent forward to blow into the water, Richet says that he "distinguished clearly Aischa seated far away from Bien Boa, and Marthe." He goes on to say: "I could not see Marthe's face very well; but I recognized the skirt and the chemisette she was wearing, and I saw her hands."[1] M. Delanne, however, saw Marthe's face.

Even granting that Marthe did sit in the cabinet while this took place, we must not leave out of sight the fact that she had smaller sisters who might easily have been introduced into the cabinet. The photographs appended to M. Richet's report overwhelmingly strongly suggest a rather crude amateur make-up. The one opposite p. 276 shows a big form before the opening of the curtain, resembling a bed sheet, and the arm of a girl seated at some distance. The next[2] gives the picture of a face with black beard and "pickelhaube" covered with a sheet. Both beard and "pickelhaube" may have originated in Nurenberg in so far as appearances are concerned. Facing the following page is a photograph showing the same figure of Bien Boa standing in the opening of the cabinet, and also Aischa seated in a chair within. There is no photograph giving a clear view of the whole trio.

There is only one way to prove the reality of materialization, and it is amazingly simple. After the materialized form has appeared, let it be isolated from the medium and investigated while the cabinet at the same time is subjected to a separate scrutiny. If Katie

[1] Ibid., p. 270.
[2] Opposite p. 280.

King or Bien Boa had dematerialized in the hands of their investigators after the cabinet had been thoroughly searched and the medium (if there) examined, we should now have believed. But now we believe not.

We have saved the case of W. Stainton-Moses till the last. It is very difficult to pronounce upon his phenomena, for there are no other records than his own and those made by members of the Spear family from his dictation while in trance.[1] He was never subjected to scientific investigation—was never even controlled during his performances. Our only evidence for his phenomena, then, is his own authority and that of the Spears.

Ordinarily this fact would dismiss his case as purely unevidential. But when we take into account the character of Mr. Moses as a clergyman of the Church of England, an Oxford man, and a scholar, known by all who came in contact with him as a gentleman through and through,[2] it would seem incredible that at any time he could have resorted to deliberate fraud. And furthermore, there would have been no purpose in his defrauding, for he never gave public seances and drew no advantages from his spiritistic career.

Mr. Myers considers his phenomena genuine,[3] and no doubt, on account of his close acquaintance with Moses, has a right to his opinion. Podmore, on the other hand, refuses to admit their supernormal causation, but at the same time allows for the absence of deliberate deception in so far as Moses is concerned. He reminds us, however, of the presence of young children

[1] The following are the records of Moses' seances now in existence: *"Spirit Identity,"* by W. S. Moses—out of print; *"Human Nature,"* contemporary numbers; Mrs. Spear's Notes *in "Light";* Posthumous papers *in Proceedings, S. P. R.,* vols. ix and xi.

[2] See F. W. H. Myers' sketch in *Proceedings, S. P. R.,* viii:597-669.

[3] *"Human Personality,"* vol. II, pp. 223-37, 540-41, 546-49, 551-54, 583-87, etc.

in the house of Dr. Spear, suggesting that they might have had a hand in the spirit maneuvers.[1]

The more we study the Moses case, the more we come to the conviction that if it should be accepted as exhibiting anything, it is a typical case of self-delusion on the part of the medium, or, in inadequate terms, of unconscious deception. For while there is nothing to show that the phenomena were ever genuine, nor that they exceed the possibilities of ordinary manipulation, there is all reason to believe that Mr. Moses would not have lowered himself to conscious deception. We shall return to his case in a later chapter.

Our brief survey so far has shown, we think, the absence of positive evidence for genuine physical phenomena. The psychical phenomena show a very different aspect. Entering upon them we are no longer concerned with the possible substitution of mechanical action for the claimed or supposed action of unknown forces or spirits, but confronted with phenomena of a mental order the reality of which can be verified only from the accounts of those who experience them.

Automatic writing and speaking constitute the main and most interesting phenomena in this group, and in so far as the rest are concerned their actuality is no longer questioned. As we have already said, these latter phenomena do not properly belong to Spiritism, and they find their natural explanation outside of spiritistic theories.

In our investigation of the psychical phenomena we shall, therefore, confine ourselves to those known as automatic speaking and writing. Of course, there are fraudulent mediums who obtain their knowledge from natural sources, and even simulate the state of trance.

[1] "*Studies, etc,*" pp. 116-133; "*Modern Spiritualism,*" vol. II, pp. 280-288.

Yet, a study of the records of automatic script and utterance will convince the unprejudiced inquirer that all is not fraud or coincidence.[1]

If we discard, then, undoubtedly numerous cases of simulated trance and of intelligence obtained from mediums' blue books or from other sources and deliberately given out in the form of messages from the dead, we find a residue of instances in which the trance-state is genuine and the intelligence given automatically, at least without any intention to defraud on the part of the medium. All investigators of the Piper case rank it in this class,[2] to which we should prefer to add those of Mr. Moses, Mrs. Thompson,[3] the Verralls, Mrs. Holland and Mrs. Forbes, not excluding other cases not mentioned in this treatise. In face of what is generally accepted as a fact a discussion of this point would be to no purpose.

So far we have termed the phenomena genuine without considering their actual cause. The intelligence usually purports to come from persons departed and this point in itself is still open to debate. The entranced medium is in an abnormal condition in which other personalities than the normal waking self appear, and it is in the state of trance that the messages take form and are delivered. Whatever may be their actual,

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[1] Mr. Podmore says (*"The Newer Spiritualism,"* pp. 145-146): "I should, perhaps, state at the outset, as emphatically as possible, that it seems to me incredible that fraud should be the sole explanation of the revelations made in trance and automatic writing. No one who has made a careful study of the records and is sufficiently free from prepossession to enable him to form an honest opinion, will believe that any imaginable exercise of fraudulent ingenuity, supplemented by whatever opportuneness of coincidence and laxness on the part of the investigators, could conceivably explain the whole of these communications."

[2] Podmore *in Proceedings, S. P. R.*, xiv:50-78; Mrs. Sidgwick *in* Ibid., xv:16-38; Andrew Lang *in* Ibid., xv:39-52; Prof. W. R. Newbold *in* Ibid., xiv:6-49; Dr. Hodgson *in* Ibid., xiii:248 et seq. To these may be added the testimony of Lodge, W. Leaf, William James, Profs. Hyslop and Sidgwick, Myers, Richet and others.

[3] Dr. Hodgson accuses Mrs. Thompson of fraud (see *Proceedings, S. P. R.*, xvii:138-161) but even to Podmore this accusation seems unwarranted (see *"The Newer Spiritualism,"* p. 158).

objective source, their *subjective* reality, as found in the mind of the medium, corresponds to their expression in speech or in script. In this degree, then, we feel justified in accepting the records as genuine *a priori*, and the problem confronting us will be to determine, from a study of their contents, whether the messages could have a natural source or whether they give positive proof of preternatural origin. Obviously here, as in the case of the physical phenomena, we can not accept a preternatural element in the absence of *positive* proof. But before proceeding to such inquiry we shall consider certain facts and theories which would contribute to the elucidation of the matter before us.

CHAPTER VI.

Spiritism and Psychology.

The phenomena of Spiritism which are not obviously associated with deliberate fraud are invariably produced in the presence of certain individuals known as mediums. Considering therefore the phenomena in general as mediumistic, that is to say as depending upon certain individuals in the absence of whom they do not occur, we find in them a striking analogy with phenomena, in themselves of an obviously natural order, appearing in abnormal mental states and with hypnotized persons, such as, besides the hypnotic state itself, cases of suggestion, dissociation of the personality, automatism, thought transference, clairvoyance, etc. There are then to all appearances, and in so far at least as their association is concerned, two analogous orders of phenomena, those of Spiritism and those pertaining to the realm of psychology, and in order to appreciate and arrive at a conclusion regarding the nature of the former we propose to institute a comparative study of both.

While the constitution of our psychical life, or perhaps more definitely of our own personality or Ego, and the relation of its varied phenomena to purely psychical or psycho-physiological causes has not in all its details and aspects been scientifically established, and we therefore are unable to reason from thoroughly known principles, the *ensemble* of authenticated phenomenal facts has been incorporated in theories, the tentative acceptance of one or other of which becomes necessary for an intelligent treatment of the subject. The authenticated facts, however, have a probative value independently of the theories in which they are

found incorporated, and while it may become not only convenient but necessary to employ the terminology they furnish, we base our conclusions, not upon the hypothetical principles implied in the terminology, but upon the facts themselves upon which they rest.

It is not our intention to enter on speculation regarding human personality; whatever may be the different conclusions of various schools of psychology, we accept the principle of an individual and personal unity of the Ego, at the same time admitting the complexity of its constitution. This admission forms the basis of two different theories regarding the constitution of the Ego which we shall present prior to some of the facts upon which they are based.

The most ordinary everyday experience tells us not only of the complex nature of the Ego, but shows that what goes to make up my own Self is broader than that self of which at any given moment I am conscious. As a fact, the conscious Self embraces but a small portion of the whole Ego, which includes not only conscious thought, memory, experience and action, but also impressions non-consciously received and later perhaps emerging into consciousness, latent memory of what formerly was conscious, certain processes of association of ideas, and largely that whole, incessant activity which goes to make up the *ensemble* of vital function.

We shall briefly state two theories which we have found helpful in coördinating and systematizing the psychological phenomena to which we have referred. Dr. Grasset's system of "polygonal psychology" treats the question of human personality from a psycho-physiological point of view, while that of Frederic Myers, the theory of the "subliminal self," deals with the subject more purely psychologically. In main they follow the same leading outlines, admitting in the Ego a fluctuating interaction between its normally conscious and subconscious strata.

Mr. Myers[1] considers a human being as a spiritual and permanent entity, a soul, of which our conscious self is but a small portion. This entity he compares to a solar spectrum the visible region of which is extended at both ends in the extra violet and the ultra red rays. Similarly our *supraliminal* or ordinary consciousness, constituting a small proportion of the whole self and particularly adapted to terrestrial life, is extended on the one side in inferior faculties now lost, but formerly at the disposal of our ancestors, i. e., the power to influence physiological functions at will, on the other in superior faculties in which we do not have free use in this existence but which occasionally manifest themselves, such as clairvoyance, lucidity, etc. These two extensions form the *subliminal* part of ourselves. The *limen* or border, dividing the supraliminal from the subliminal is, however, not impervious, but there are constant fluxes between the two orders.

The author of this theory begins his argument with a study of *disintegration of personality,* observed in obsession, subconscious ideas, hypnotic phenomena, secondary states of consciousness, etc., which bespeak a regressive process inverse to the process of evolution by which he thinks human personality has come into being. *Genius* shows upshots of the subliminal into the supraliminal consciousness; in *sleep* supraliminal functions are suspended and our being recruits its strength from the metetherical world, which is the source of all energy; and finally *hypnotism,* an experimental development of sleep, increases the subliminal vitalization of the organism. Suggestion Myers defines as "a successful appeal to the subliminal self." The different forms of automatism as well as telepathy and clairvoyance are the functions of the subliminal self, accentuated in sleep and particularly in hypnotic trance.

[1] The theory is stated and elaborated in *"Human Personality."*

We shall not follow Myers in the ultimate development of his theory leading to notions such as the dissociation of segments of the subliminal self and their subsequent impression at distance of other personalities (psychical invasion) or rapport with material things in clairvoyance, or, again, the establishing of phantasmogenetic centers (collective hallucinations); nor in his ultimate conclusion regarding intercommunication with the departed. In these things his theories go far beyond the warrant of the facts and lose themselves in speculation.

Dr. Grasset[1] abandons the purely psychological ground for a hypothesis which would cover and arrange the facts, and refers them rather to a psycho-physiological structure. His theory is represented in an upper psychical center, O, dominating a polygon of lower psychical centers.[2] The O represents the upper psychical center of conscious personality—free will, the responsible Ego—the cerebral cortex of the prefrontal lobe. The polygon consists of the lower psychical centers, both motor (kinæsthetic, speech and writing) and sensory (auditory, visual and tactile), which are connected with their respective centrifugal and centripetal organs, and interconnected by intrapolygonal organs.

Psychical acts are partly voluntary and conscious, partly involuntary and unconscious, corresponding to the two groups of psychical centers and neurones both located in the cerebral mind, viz., the upper centers O, and the lower or polygonal centers. The *whole* psychism participates in the management of life in the *physiological state,* but when under certain circumstances the two orders of psychism are separated—*hyperpolygonal disaggregation*—interaction wholly or partially ceases. Such disaggregation is found in sleep,

[1] *In "The Marvels Beyond Science."*
[2] See diagram at the beginning of Op. cit.

absent-mindedness, hypnosis, etc. In this condition the polygon is susceptible to influence from another O by means of suggestion. The disaggregated polygon expresses itself in the phenomena of automatism and appears in "secondary personalities," and a further, *intra-polygonal* disaggregation will account for the phenomena of analgesia and anæthesia often observed in induced somnambulism.

Spiritistic phenomena, as we have said, occur with mediums, i e., intermediaries between the phenomena as perceptible effects, and spirits as their alleged cause. In the physical phenomena the intermediary rôle is less obvious, especially where physical contact is not implied, whereas in the psychical phenomena the medium exhibits automatism purporting to be the result of spirit-possession or at least to be guided under the influence of spirits.[1] If we analyze mediumship we shall find its essential constituents in the trance-state, motor automatism and the apparent possession, to which should be added sensory automatism as found, for instance, in the hyperæsthesia which makes the control of Eusapia Palladino's one hand and foot very painful to her.

The trance-state is indicative of dissociation of personality as we find it in various psychological abnormal states in which both automatism and secondary personalities appear. We shall now present these psychological phenomena for the purpose of comparison with the corresponding phenomena of spiritism as we have presented them in another chapter.

[1] Even Miss Johnson makes this distinction. "Mr. Podmore concludes that the Piper-Myers is not identical with the Verrall-Myers. For my own part it never occurred to me to suppose that it was. It never occurred to me to imagine that in the scripts we could find anything more than a product of the mental interaction of two personalities—the automatist and another." (*Proceedings, S. P. R.*, xxvi:262.)

Motor automatism in the state of hyperpolygonal dissociation takes the form of intelligent communication both in the automatic handwriting, automatic speech and automatic gesture. Regarding the latter Grasset observes[1] that "gesticulating mediums answer questions by gestures of the head or the hand or by running their fingers on letters of the alphabet with excessive speed." This would do away admirably with the argument for spirit agency which might be drawn from the great speed with which the ouija board is sometimes found to move.[2]

Automatic handwriting has been observed with absent-minded people and hysterics, and sometimes so-called mirror writing has been obtained. In this we find a very close parallel to the spiritistic phenomena of automatic writing and planchette writing even with mediums who are not entranced, and for the success of these phenomena it is necessary that the medium's mind should not be occupied, but rather present as much of a blank as possible.

"Secondary personalities" also develop in dreams,[3] but still more distinctly in advanced stages of dissociation such as epilepsy, hysteria, and as a consequence of suggestion or auto-suggestion in hysterically inclined persons. They are then often accompanied by hyperæsthesia of sight and hearing and by dynamogeny of the central sensorium—visual and auditory hallucinations. Hypnotic suggestion or auto-suggestion has a vivifying effect upon the memory so that in the hypnotic trance the memory of previous hypnotic states, and other impressions lost to the normal conscious

[1] "*The Marvels Beyond Science*," p. 136.

[2] Sir William Barrett, "*On the Threshold of the Unseen*," p. 177: "Questions were promptly answered (by the ouija board) and the indicator often moved so rapidly that (the hands of the sitters) had some difficulty in keeping pace with it."

[3] R. L. Stevenson's "my other fellow" appeared to him as a distinct part of his mind while he was awake during illness. See his letter in "*Human Personality*," vol. I, pp. 301 et seq.

memory, are recalled. We shall now refer to some examples of manifestation of "secondary personalities."

Miss "Christine L. Beauchamp," a young lady of extremely idealistic temperament and almost morbid New England conscientiousness, during her College years developed neurasthenia in a degree which finally compelled her to abandon her studies and left her a physical wreck. In this condition she came under the observation of Dr. Morton Prince, whose report on her case will be found in the *Proceedings for the Society of Psychical Research."* [1]

In 1898—she was then 23 years old—Dr. Prince submitted her to hypnotic treatment and she was easily placed in the somnambulistic state, which is designated by him as B *ii*, B *i* being the waking Miss Beauchamp. One day when hypnotized it was found that she had no knowledge of something which she had done in a previous hypnotic state and also that in this state—of which she later denied the facts—she was an entirely distinct and separate person. So far three distinct mental states had been observed, of which the waking, or B *i*, knew nothing of the others, while B *ii* knew B *i* and no more, and B *iii* knew both B *i* and B *ii*.

B *ii* and B *iii* were constantly rubbing her eyes in an effort to get them open, which, however, was frustrated by Dr. Prince, who feared that this would later cause spontaneous induction of those states. Finally B *iii* succeeded in getting her eyes open, and from now on that personality had a spontaneous and independent existence.

B *iii*, who took the name "Sally Beauchamp," proved a most interesting personality, quite different from B *i*. While B *i* was serious minded, studious, conscientious and religious minded, Sally was full of fun and without worry, fond of amusements and quite averse to in-

[1] *Proceedings, S. P. R.*, xv:466-483 contains the report to the International Congress of Psychology, Paris, Aug. 1900.

tellectual occupations and things pertaining to religion. She lacked many of the educational accomplishments of B *i*, but on the other hand she was free from her physical infirmities, never suffered pain and felt no fatigue. In short, Sally enjoyed perfect health. While Sally showed herself very kind-hearted towards others, she had a strong dislike to B *i*, whom she tormented in all possible ways. She would, for instance, walk far out in the country, then wake up and become B *i*, who with all her bodily infirmities and quite penniless would have to struggle home. She would leave packages containing living snakes for B *i*, write embarrassing letters to her and even make her tell obvious lies, to her horror and discomfort. She was able not only to know B *i*'s thoughts, but also to influence them as well as to a certain extent her muscular activity. Sally thus persisted during the B *i* and B *ii* states, while B *i* became entirely effaced during the Sally state, which left completely blank gaps in her memory.

From Sally Dr. Prince obtained the whole past history of B *i*, which gives at hand that Miss Beauchamp developed her peculiar characteristics and her neurasthenia in 1893 as the results of a very great shock she had received. In other words, at that time Miss Beauchamp modified into B *i*. In 1899 the incident of six years previously was suddenly brought to her mind, which threw her into a highly excited state and caused the development of a new personality, B *iv*, quite unlike the rest and unaware of the existence of B *i*. Unfortunately a description of this personality would make our reference too lengthy.

Dr. Prince draws the following conclusions as to the relations between the different states. Neither B *i* nor B *iv* is strictly the original Miss Beauchamp, nor are they somnambulistic personalities, but modifications of the original Self. In 1893 the original Miss Beauchamp disintegrated into B *i* and B *iv*. As a fact B *iv*

retained a memory of Miss Beauchamp's life up to the emergence of B *i* in 1893. B *iii* is the "subliminal consciousness" which developed and assumed an independent existence in 1897. Both B *i* and B *iv* if hypnotized become B *ii*, who knows the thoughts of B *i* and B *iv*. But these latter are ignorant of B *ii*'s existence. After seven years of experimentation Dr. Prince finally succeeded, with the aid of suggestion, in combining the two personalities B *i* and B *ii* into what he considered the original Miss Beauchamp, a healthy and normal woman, and Sally now ceased to appear.

Both Miss Beauchamp's case and the well known one of the "Watseka Wonder"[1] show extreme degrees of dissociation with very individualized and permanent "secondary personalities," and as such hardly find a direct parallel in spiritistic mediumship.

But they will show the possibilities of nature in this respect and contribute to a better understanding of the cases to which we now shall refer.[2]

Mme. Hugo d'Alesi when hypnotized would pass into somnambulism, and then, after a short interval of catalepsy, emerge a new personality, proclaiming herself one of various spirits that had taken hold of her.[3] She would be a young, whimsical woman, slightly defective pronunciation, or "Philippe," or "M. Tétard,

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[1] Lurancy Vennum, the "Watseka Wonder," a girl of fourteen who showed herself peculiar and had fits, was hypnotized and developed the personality of a girl who had died twelve years previously. The new personality showed the most remarkable acquaintance with those things the dead girl knew in her lifetime, and the impersonation was most realistic. After five months the original personality returned, to give room, at intervals, for the one developed. (See Myers, *"Human Personality,"* vol. I, pp. 360-368.)

[2] Dr. Forel records a rather similar case of a young woman who under the influence of repeated induction of somnambulism by university students, spiritists and French experimenters developed a secondary personality of such depravity and loose habits that her life was threatened with ruin.—Forel, *"Hypnotismus, etc.,"* "Ein Fall von Doppeltem Bewusstsein," pp. 233-237. See also the case of a bank clerk who for several days assumed a secondary personality, in which state he undertook a journey. Not until hypnotized could he recall what he had done during this period.—*In* C. Lloyd Tuckey, *"Treatment by Hypnotism and Suggestion,"* pp. 105-106.

[3] Grasset, *"The Marvels Beyond Science,"* pp. 142-144.

chewing tobacco or drinking ordinary wine," or "Abbé Gerard, who intends to deliver a sermon, but whose head is thick and mouth sticky because of the preceding incarnation," or, again, an obscene fellow, a baby, or a little girl of three years. When aroused from the hypnotic trance she would immediately resume her ordinary personality. Mlle. Couesdon[1] would hypnotize herself and then become the "Angel Gabriel," using a language in which the frequent occurrence of the word-ending "E" made false rhymes.

M. Flammarion gives some very interesting samples of automatism from his own experience.[2] His friend, Victorien Sardou, had experimented with mediumship and produced, apparently in a waking state, automatic writing describing the life of the inhabitants of Jupiter. The account is very fanciful and reflects the current ideas on the topic at the time. He would also draw automatically, and we have before us two sketches of Zoroaster's house on Jupiter, the one showing the traditional kind of "Pan" and "animal devils." Other sketches show the houses of Mozart and Bernard Palissy on the same planet. After some unsuccessful attempts M. Flammarion also developed automatic writing and produced an astronomical treatise signed "Galileo." The document, however, failed to add anything new to science, and the Professor recognized in it the reflection of his own mind.

But the classical example is found in the case of Mlle. Smith,[3] the famous subject of Professor Flournoy, who in her trance is first "possessed" by "Victor Hugo" writing trifling church hymn rhythms; later by Leopold, who after a struggle drives "Victor Hugo" from her

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[1] *Annales des Sciences Psychiques*, 1896, p. 124.

[2] Flammarion, "*Mysterious Psychic Forces*," pp. 25-27.

[3] Flournoy, "*Des Indes à la Planète Mars, Etude sur un cas de somnambulism avec glossologie;* Idem, "*Nouvelles Observations sur un cas de Somnambulism*," Geneva 1902, and "Un Nouveau Cycle Somnambulique de Mlle. Smith: ses Peintures religieuses" in *Arch. de Psychologie*, Tome vii, July 1917, p. 63, and September 1907, p. 206.

organism over which he then takes complete possession, and Joseph Balsamo, the spirit of Cagliostro. There are various periods in her automatism, the most interesting being her Martian romance and her revelation of the unknown history of ancient India.[1]

Having in her trance perceived a bright star towards which she feels herself floating Hélène Smith finally sees three enormous spheres and is informed by the table that she is now on Mars. Upon the suggestion of M. Lemaître, who is present, she now gives a description of life and people on the planet—carriages without horses and wheels, houses with water jets playing on their roofs, men and women like ourselves but dressed in long, ornamented blouses, and so forth. She finds Alexis, a former pupil of Lemaître's and now dead, mingling with the Mars people. She illustrates her descriptions with sketches, automatically drawn, and representing landscapes, Mars inhabitants, villages, houses and a flying-machine which looks like a carriage lamp with a dust broom stuck through the glass.[2] The most remarkable part of the Martian romance is the revelation of the Martian language, which includes complete alphabet, grammar and vocabulary, and is given both vocally and in writing. It shows a great similarity to French, both as regards construction and sounds, and the letters in the alphabet correspond exactly to those in the French alphabet.[3] This is an example of the language in Latin characters:

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[1] "For certainly the revelations of (Mlle. Smith) upon the Martian language or the unknown history of ancient India do not give first place to any of the preceding (including the case of W. Stainton-Moses and others) in brilliance or in orginality." (Flournoy in *"Spiritism and Psychology,"* p. 135.)

[2] See illustration in *"Des Indes à la Planète Mars,"* p. 155.

[3] "Par bonheur (la langue martienne), en dépit de ses apparences étranges et des cinquante millions de lieues qui nous séparent bon an mal an de la rouge planète, est au fond si proche voisin du français que cette enterprise n'offre guère de difficulté dans son cas." (Op. cit., p. 202.)

". . . la transcription française s'impose d'elle même, chaque lettre martienne ayant son équivalent exact dans notre alphabet (sauf le signe—muet—de certains pluriels . . .)" (Op. cit., p. 203.)

Dodé né ci haudan té mess métiche astané
This is the house of the great man Astané
ké dé mé véche.
which thou hast seen.[1]

Professor Flournoy naturally comes to the conclusion that the whole Martian language has its sole source in Hélène's imagination from whence it is subconsciously elaborated in her somnambulistic state.[2]

The more involved revelation of unknown Indian history includes specimen of sanscrit and hindoo chant. The psychological analysis of these somnambulic lucubrations will be found in Flournoy's work.[3]

In January, 1894, Hélène was informed by the table that she was the reincarnation of Marie Antoinette, Queen of France. This was the beginning of the so-called Royal Cycle. Previous to this event a Mrs. B. in whose house Hélène was giving seances had offered her an engraving from Dumas' *"Les Memoires d'un Médécin"* representing the decanter scene between Balsamo (Cagliostro) and the Dauphiness, which doubtlessly called to her mind the popular tradition according to which Cagliostro was supposed to have been closely connected with Marie Antoinette. Mme. B. also intimated that Leopold, Hélène's spirit guide, might be identical with Joseph Balsamo, which was later confirmed by Leopold through the table. Mme. B. now suggested that Hélène must be the embodiment of Lorenza Feliciani, Cagliostro's medium, which she also believed till she learned that this person was a purely fictitious creation of Alexandre Dumas. It was

[1] Ibid., p. 204.

[2] "J'ai à peine besoin d'ajouter, en terminant, que toute hypothèse spirite ou occulte quelconque me parait absolument superflue et injustifiée dans le cas du martien de Mlle. Smith. L'autosuggestibilité, mise en branle par certaines stimulations du milieu, comme on vient de le voir par l'histoire de l'ultramartien, suffit amplement à rendre compte de ce cycle tout entier." (Op. cit., p. 256.)

[3] Op. cit., pp. 318-322.

then that she was informed by the table that she was Marie Antoinette. These preliminary remarks, we think, will clear up the origin of the Royal Cycle.

To begin with, both Balsamo and Marie Antoinette were communicating through the table, Hélène giving the impersonation by gesture. Gradually automatic writing appeared and finally Balsamo began to speak, and Marie Antoinette to be impersonated both in speech and pantomime. When controlled by Balsamo she speaks with a burr and lisps, using Italian accent and now obsolete words. She makes Marie Antoinette speak with English accent. In both cases her automatic writing uses the spelling of the nineteenth century. While impersonating Marie Antoinette, however, she accepts and smokes a cigarette (she does not smoke in her waking state), and while evading such traps as references to telephones and bicycles by the Marquis de Mirabeau and Louis-Philippe of Orleans impersonated by two gentlemen present, she uses expressions such as "to run off the track" and "meter" and "centimeter" which the famous Queen must have learned in the beyond. Her automatic writing under the two "controls" shows no resemblance to either the handwriting of Balsamo or that of Marie Antoinette.[1] And on the whole, Flournoy concludes, there is nothing in the whole comedy which can not be ascribed to subliminal creations on the part of Mlle. Smith, prompted and facilitated by the great quantity of historical and legendary souvenirs of the illustrious Queen to be found in France.[2]

If we now compare the phenomena of automatic speech and writing with the cases to which we have re-

[1] See comparison between the automatic writing of the "Marie-Antoinette" control and that of the real Marie Antoinette in Op. cit., p. 327.

[2] Op. cit., p. 338.

ferred we shall not fail to find a very close parallel. The entire mechanism of the spiritistic phenomena with their dramatization and impersonation of those departed far from exceeding what has been exhibited by Mlle. Smith and in other cases, very often falls far below them in vigour and verisimilitude. So far as the mechanism of spiritistic automatism, then, is concerned, there is no reason to ascribe to the phenomena a preternatural origin. But it is necessary to investigate them from the point of view of the intelligence which they convey in order to see whether knowledge is revealed which would have to be ascribed to spirits. Preliminary to proceeding to this inquiry we shall investigate the possibility of conveying intelligence from one mind to another as claimed by defenders of telepathy and thought-transference, but before so doing we shall see what bearing the development of "secondary personalities" and automatism may have upon the physical phenomena of Spiritism.

Our survey of the phenomena of Spiritism as a whole showed us that whereas a portion of the psychical phenomena were undoubtedly genuine, the physical phenomena could not be proven not to have been mechanically produced by the medium. Deliberate fraud was found in great abundance and no doubt would have to be suspected in most cases of physical mediumship. Even Eusapia Palladino was repeatedly shown to be conscious of her fraud.

There is at least one case, however, in which, for reasons already stated, it is very difficult to assume deliberate fraud, the case of W. Stainton-Moses, and this fact brings up the question whether his, and a certain portion of physical phenomena in general, could not be explained by automatism in the trance state.

Mr. Moses' performances included phenomena of the most suspicious character, such as prolonged levitation of the medium, carrying of objects from one end of the house to the other, arranging of various objects to form an elaborate figure on Mr. Moses' bed, etc., under circumstances which would not have prevented him from playing the rôle of acting spirit. A great majority of his physical phenomena will therefore instantly find an adequate explanation if we assume that Mr. Moses in his trance state developed a secondary personality which considered itself to be Grocyn or some other spirit, and employed the medium's hands for the necessary manipulations. We have spoken of visual and auditory hallucinations as frequently occurring in states of dissociation of personality which would explain the apparitions he saw and the voices he heard. Nor is it impossible that his direct spirit writings were automatically produced.

If from Moses' phenomena we turn to those of Eusapia Palladino we shall find that whereas those exhibited at Cambridge were obviously fraudulent, and although at all her seances she has been observed to perform a certain number of her phenomena with her hands and feet, there are other instances—and we refer particularly to the Naples sittings in 1908—where the control employed would exclude fraud of this particular nature. It is admitted by almost all her investigators that, whereas comparatively easily detected fraud is often resorted to, "better" phenomena also occur when at least this kind of fraud is not employed.

We have shown that she was never able to produce the slightest phenomenon with adequate self-registering apparatus and also that she actually deceived her controllers in a very subtle manner. And to our conclusion that all her phenomena could have been fraudulently produced we must then add that besides her more easily detected method of manipulation she must

have employed another method implying much greater skill and particularly greater rapidity and precision in her movements.

It is of common knowledge that somnambules exhibit an extraordinary precision in their movements—they will, v. g., walk on the edge of a precipice or climb about in the most dangerous positions, and with the greatest ease. This is but a phase of the abnormal development of certain faculties witnessed in hyperæsthesia and in increase of muscular power. To this must be added automatic muscular movement verified for instance in experimental table turning[1] and the excessive speed which it attains, as we have remarked in connection with the ouija board.

If we return to the case of Eusapia Palladino we can base the following theory upon facts verified in the trance or somnambulistic state. John King is a "secondary personality" impersonating a spirit and making use of Eusapia's bodily organs for automatic speech and movements. Her hands, arms, legs and feet, and probably her head and neck, partake in these movements which are characterized by extraordinary precision and a speed which defies detection.[2] Visual hyperæsthesia would undoubtedly be very helpful to the medium at dark seances.

Evidently this hypothesis would fully explain Eusapia's phenomena of movement of objects within her reach and of sounds, blows, pinchings, production of objects and partial materializations in the neighbor-

[1] Faraday first discovered that table turning was effected by unconscious muscular movement in the fingers of the medium and the sitters. The movement is so minute that it can not be noticed by ocular observation. But if sand paper is pasted upon the table with soft paste and the hands of the sitters are placed on the paper it will be found that the paper will move on the top of the table in the direction in which the table is turning.

[2] On the principle that a movement, v. g., of the hand is not noticed if done with greater rapidity than that of which the observer's eyes are capable.

hood of the medium, as it would also her autolevitations, in the presence of the strictest kind of visual and tactile control under which these phenomena have been observed. The faculties developed in the entranced medium are supernormal, and consequently the mechanical mode of production of the phenomena is supernormal and beyond that which a skilled conjurer could exhibit in the waking state. Simple apparatus such as perhaps a black cord would now explain the telekinetic phenomena occurring beyond the medium's reach, and a small metal "corn" fastened on a metal strap around one foot and slightly protruding through her stocking could be pressed through the hem of her dress, which always touches one leg of the table, into the wood of the leg so that the foot the more easily might perform the levitation of the table. And with all this—Eusapia might have been almost an honest woman!

Finally we shall turn our attention to natural, psychical phenomena known as thought-transference, telepathy and telæsthesia as possibly accounting for what broadly speaking might be termed "spirit-messages."

Telepathy and clairvoyance, the popularly best known among these phenomena, have already obtained a rather broad acceptance, based, no doubt, less upon scientific evidence than resulting from the careless manner in which the terms have been scattered about by writers in the popular vein, and in the course of time they have silently slipped from the realm of scientific hypotheses to that of established facts in popular consciousness. Scientifically telepsychism has not been established, for while certain facts have been recognized by many as actually existing and pointing to extrasense communication and perception, yet the laws by which these facts are governed must be said so far to

be unknown to science. Before turning to evidential matter we shall briefly define the terms which we shall have occasion to use.

Telepsychism is used by Boirac[1] in preference to the older usage of the word "telepathy" to designate the *ensemble* of different phenomena known as *second sight, clairvoyance, divination, presentiments, mental suggestion,* etc. These phenomena, in their turn divide in a telepathic and a telæsthetic group. In general telepathy denotes "the ability of one mind to impress or to be impressed by another mind otherwise than through the recognized channels of sense,"[2] or "the communication of impressions of any kind from one mind to another independently of the recognized channels of sense."[3] Boirac defines telepathy as "the action of transference of thought from one person to another by the exercise of the will."[4] This definition is not very clear, and, furthermore, does not express what essentially should be the distinguishing mark between telepathy in the strictest sense of the term and *thought-transference,* viz., that in the former the impressions seem to be conveyed spontaneously and even unconsciously (or we think, rather, subconsciously) on the part of the transmitter, whereas in thought-transference the will and conscious effort to impress another mind is the distinguishing characteristic.[5] Of course, we may here be distinguishing where no distinction should be

[1] "*Our Hidden Forces,*" pp. 178-179.
[2] Gurney, "*Phantasms of the Living,*" vol. I, p. 6.
[3] Myers, "*Human Personality,*" vol. I, p. 21.
[4] Op. cit., p. 178.
[5] Dr. Grasset makes this distinction. "It is easy to perceive the resemblance, as well as the differences, existing between mental suggestion and telepathy. Telepathy is also a thought transference, but it is a transference at a long distance, whilst in mental suggestion, both subjects are quite near each other. Besides (and this is more important) in mental suggestion the transmitting subject is active; he does not interfere in telepathy. This is so important that we shall see cases in which mental suggestion is practiced at more or less great distance, although it does not become telepathy because the physical effort is made by the suggesting subject."—"*The Marvels beyond Science,*" p. 321.

made, but it should be borne in mind that so far we are dealing only with *terms of convenience*, referring to certain facts or groups of facts such as they *appear* to us.

The *telaesthetic* phenomena consist in clairvoyance and clairaudience. Myers defines telæsthesia as "sensation at a distance" in distinction to telepathy, which is "fellow-feeling at a distance."[1] The terms clairvoyance, clairaudience, etc., vary according to the sense corresponding with the sensation perceived.

We shall now turn to a review of the evidence for what we consider the facts indicating the phenomena described in our terminology.

The evidence for the facts pointing to the *telepathic phenomena* divides into two kinds, the one including spontaneous cases of telepathic manifestations (telepathy proper), the other embracing the results of experimental investigation (thought-transference). Both kinds offer an abundance of material, which is constantly growing.

The spontaneous cases capable of verification consist mainly in apparitions of the living (including those at the moment of death), and in veridical auditory hallucinations. The main collections of these cases, to which we here refer, are those of Messrs. Gurney, Podmore and Myers in *"Phantasms of the Living"* and the report on the so-called *Census of Hallucinations,* undertaken under the auspices of the Society for Psychical Research, which is found in the tenth volume of the *Proceedings of the Society.*[2] Additional cases will be found in Podmore's *"Apparitions and Thought-Transference,"* in the publications of the two Societies for Psychical Research, in the *Annales des Sciences Psychiques,* etc.

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[1] *"Human Personality,"* vol. i, p. 136.

[2] English.

The report on the Census Hallucinations shows that out of 17,000 persons questioned, and with deduction of affirmative answers referring to dreams, inarticulate sounds, and hallucinations during illness known to produce delirium, there remained 1,684 cases of hallucinations in the normal waking state,[1] 350 of which were recognized apparitions of living persons.[2] Of these sixty-five were death coincidences. The findings of the census takers, when summed up, give a ratio of cases, showing a probable relation between cause and effect, of one in forty-three, while cases due to coincidence would be about one in nine thousand,[3] which would be about 440 times less than the ratio of cases recorded. The calculations would show that the number of cases of death coincidence gathered in the census by far exceeds the probabilities of chance, and offer proof for the existence of a logical *nexus* between the actual occurrence and the hallucination received.

Besides cases of death coincidence there are those of apparition of persons in danger of accidents or approaching the recipient. These cases, recorded in the works above referred to, are sufficiently numerous, and present sufficiently strong and verifiable evidence of coincidence between the actual occurrence and the hallucination to bespeak a *nexus* between the two. The hallucinations are not always visual, i. e., do not always take the form of apparitions, but may sometimes be

[1] *Proceedings, S. P. R.*, x:39.

[2] Ibid., p. 246.

[3] Making allowance for exaggeration, selection, and cases known beforehand by the collector, the report reduces the evidential number of cases of death-coincidence from 65 to 32. (*Proceedings, S. P. R.*, x:242-243). In order to compare the total number of recognized apparitions of the living with that of death coincidences allowance is made for forgetfulness, and the figure 350 (marking recognized apparitions of the living) is raised to 1,300, giving a ratio of about 1 in 43 (*Proceedings, S. P. R.*, x:63-65, 247). On the basis of the average annual death rate in England and Wales, according to the official report of 1890, it is calculated that the probability for the death of any one person taken at random is about 1 in 19,000. Consequently, out of every 19,000 apparitions of living persons there should be one chance coincidence.

auditory, when the voice of the agent is recognized by the recipient. This variation, however, is of no particular importance in the evidence for telepathy.

The more striking cases presented in the report, as well as those found in *"Phantasms of the Living,"* are too well known to need restatement, and have been admirably gathered and presented by Mr. Podmore.[1] They will also be found referred to and quoted at considerable length in *"Human Personality."*

We have dealt with veridical hallucinations as occurring between an agent and one percipient; the records, however, also show cases where several percipients simultaneously have had the same hallucination. No less than 95 collective visual hallucinations are recorded in the Census report, among which 67 took the form of realistic appearance of the human figure. Of these 27 represented living persons,[2] and there was a sufficient number of an intensity warranting their real occurrence.

Are the collective hallucinations to be referred among telepathic manifestations? At any rate there is no need for pressing the telepathic theory to extremes, and in cases, especially where the apparition seemed to have a definite objective existence in successive positions, it may be well to leave the question open.[3]

The experimental cases include the conveyance of impressions to a percipient both in the normal waking and in the hypnotic state, referred to as thought-transference or mental suggestion.

Beginning with experiments with a percipient in the normal waking state we shall find that in the early stages of investigation they usually took place with the agent and the percipient in the same room. Accounts

[1] *Studies, etc.*, pp. 234-267.

[2] Podmore, *Studies, etc.*, pp. 261-62.

[3] See Sir William F. Barrett, *"On the Threshold of the Unseen,"* p. 157.

will be found in early volumes of the *Proceedings of the Society for Psychical Research* and in *"Phantasms of the Living."*[1]

In 1883 Mr. Guthrie, of Liverpool, conducted a long series of experiments with two percipients and a group of agents, each of whom, when alone with one or other of the percipients, was successful in transferring his impressions.[2] The ideas transferred were of colors, geometrical figures and objects of all descriptions, and the percipients would make diagrammatical reproductions of their impressions, which now may be compared with the reproductions of the corresponding ideas in the mind of the agent. In spite of due proportion of failures the result is very striking.[3]

In 1893 Mrs. A. W. Verrall experimented with her daughter, then between nine and ten years old. They were sitting in the same room, back to back, and the recipient both described and drew what she visualized. Out of nine experiments four were successful, two failed to give any impression whatever, two more failed when the agent's power of visualizing was weak, one was doubtful.[4]

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[1] Professor Barrett (now Sir William) read a paper on experiments in thought transference with a hypnotized girl before the British Association in 1876. He learned of other instances in which telepathy had been observed in the normal waking state. In 1881-2 he conducted a series of experiments in which Professors Sidgwick and Steward, and Messrs. Gurney and Myers took part, and which seemed to establish telepathic communication. Since then experiments have been conducted in different countries, the results of which have confirmed Prof. Barrett's conclusions.

Among early experiments we would refer to those of Max Dessoir (*in Proc., S. P. R.*, iv:111 and v:355); Anton Schmoll and Etienne Mabie (*Ibid.*, iv:324 and v:169); J. W. Smith (*Ibid.*, ii:207); Oliver Lodge (*Ibid.*, vii:374); A. Blair Thaw (*Ibid.*, viii:422); v. Schrenck-Notzing (*Ibid.*, vii:3); Ch. Richet (*Ibid.*, v:18).

We also refer to the record in *"Phantasms of the Living,"* vol. I, pp. 32-34 and vol. II, pp. 653-654. See also Podmore, *"Apparitions and Thought Transference,"* especially chapter V.

[2] *"Phantasms of the Living,"* vol. I, pp. 36-58.

[3] For experiments by Mr. Henry G. Rawson see *Proceedings, S. P. R.*, xi:2-17. The method of diagrams was employed and the results were good.

[4] Podmore, *Studies, etc.*, pp. 206-211 (partly taken from *Proceedings, S. P. R.*, vol. xi.)

Dr. Quintard records the case of a healthy boy five years of age who was able to solve complicated mathematical problems instantly, and although ignorant of any foreign language would solve problems presented to him in English, Latin, Greek or Spanish. But his powers failed him completely in the absence of his mother or when she was unable to solve the problem presented. Evidently this case shows an "involuntary experiment" in thought-transference between mother and child.[1]

The experiments conducted by Mrs. Sidgwick and Miss Alice Johnson[2] include one series of 126 attempts, giving over 26% successes, 56% wrong impressions, and more than 17% cases without impression. Of the 126 attempts 71 were made with agent and percipient in the same room and the result was 45% successes, 37% failures, and 18% cases without impression. The result in the remaining 55 cases, when the agent and the percipient were in different rooms, was 4% successes, 80% failures, and 16% cases with no impression.

Among more recent experiments those of Miss Clarissa Miles and Miss Hermione Ramsden conducted in the fall of the years 1905 and 1906 are of particular interest on account of the distance between agent and recipient.[3] The first series included fifteen experiments at a distance of twenty miles,[4] and shows 33% successes, while the second series, undertaken when the two ladies were separated by about 400 miles, resulted in four successful cases out of fifteen, or 27%

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[1] *Annales des Sciences Psychiques* for Nov., Dec., 1894.

[2] "Experiments in Thought Transference," *in Proceedings, S. P. R.*, viii:536-597.

[3] "Experiments in Thought Transference," by Clarissa Miles and Hermione Ramsden *in Proceedings, S. P. R.*, xxi:60-93.

[4] Except in the case of the 15th experiment when agent was in Monaco and recipient in England.

successes.[1] The thought selected for transmission often consisted in vague ideas, but the best successes were obtained only when objects actually seen or events and scenes transpiring before the agent were chosen.[2]

Still more striking results have been shown when the percipient has been in a hypnotic state. The experiments conducted by Professor and Mrs. Sidgwick with Mr. Smith in 1899 exhibit a large proportion of successful cases.[3] Trials were made with numbers, agent and recipient being in the same room, and out of 644 attempts there were 117 correct impressions. Similar results were obtained with mental images when agent and recipient were in different rooms.[4]

In a later series undertaken by Mrs. Sidgwick and Miss Johnson the percipient was a young lady who had been hypnotized. Numbers of two digits were selected for transference, and during the whole series agent and percipient were in different rooms.[5] Out of 252 trials belonging to one series 27 met with complete and 116 with partial success—i. e., the digits were either reversed or one digit only was correctly given.

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[1] First Series 5 successes 33%
3 failures 20%
2 partial successes 13%
2 partial failures 13%
1 probable success 7%
Second Series 4 successes 27%
7 doubtful cases 47%
2 partial successes 13%
2 neutral cases 13%

[2] For other experiments at long distance see "*Apparitions and Thought Transference*," *passim*, *Journal*, *S. P. R.*, April, Oct., Nov., 1896. *Proceedings*, *S. P. R.*, vi and xi.

[3] *Proceedings*, *S. P. R.*, vi:128-170, and viii:554-577.

[4] Professor Sidgwick has answered Messrs. Lehmann's and Hansen's criticism implying that the results of the experiments could be explained by unconscious faint whispering with closed lips by saying, 1, that it has not been shown that such whispering does take place involuntarily; 2, that to assume it would argue hyperæsthesia of the hearing in the agent which was not found; 3, that the circumstances did not always allow of the possibility of conveying intelligence by whispering since the subjects part of the time were in different rooms. (*Proceedings*, *S. P. R.*, xii:298, etc.)

[5] *Proceedings*, *S. P. R.*, viii:536-597.

We have also examples of induction of hypnotism from a distance. In 1885 and 1886 Professor Pierre Janet and Dr. Gilbert were experimenting with Mme. B. and succeeded repeatedly in putting her to sleep from a distance at times as long as a mile. She would then be able to tell who was her hypnotizer. Mr. Myers treats of these experiments at some length in *Human Personality.*[1]

Dr. Boirac tells of some very interesting cases of inducing hypnotic sleep from a distance in a subject entirely unaware of the experiment,[2] which was repeated several times quite successfully. Later experiments with his usual subjects conducted between the years 1894 and 1896 convinced him that "the phenomenon of 'sleep provoked at a distance,' by mental action only, as well as the 'waking from a distance,'" could be "produced as often as desired."

Such are the types of evidence adduced to prove the existence of the facts pointing to telepathic phenomena. The spontaneous phenomena of apparitions and voices of the living can not reasonably be denied in the face of the mass of evidence which has been gathered. We have dealt with phantasms of the living to exclude any hypothesis of "the dead coming back." There are only two possible explanations—since it must be admitted that chance coincidence could not adequately cover the *ensemble* of evidence—either we must admit some sort of extra-sense communication between mind and mind, unconsciously produced by the transmitter, or we must accept the phenomena as indicating the objective presence of his externalized double. But the induced phe-

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[1] Myers, *"Human Personality,"* vol. I, pp. 524-529. For reports see *Phantasms of the Living*, vol. II, pp. 679-683; *Bulletins de la Societe de Psychologie Physiologique*, Tome I, p. 24; *Revue Philosophique*, Aug. 1886. *Proceedings, S. P. R.*, iv:131-137 and v:43-45.

For further cases see *Proceedings, S. P. R.*, v:222, 223, vi:411 et seq., ix:216; *Revue de l'Hypnotisme*, Feb. 1888, *"Phantasms of the Living,"* vol. II, pp. 683, 685, 332, etc.

[2] *"Our Hidden Forces,"* pp. 168-170.

[3] Op. cit., pp. 170-171; for a description of cases see pp. 171-177.

nomena of thought transference give no indications of verifying the latter hypothesis. On the contrary they strongly point to a verification of the former which thus would satisfy both the spontaneous and the induced cases, and consequently be the only one which can logically be accepted.

The actuality of thought transference as we have defined the term has been, and is, denied by a number of scientists chiefly on the ground that their own experiments have failed.[1] But it is difficult to understand this attitude. The evidence furnished by experiments which have succeeded can not be overthrown by any number of failures, unless it can be shown that what was regarded as success depended upon error. We do not think this can be shown in the experiments above referred to. First of all, a study of the reports, one after another, will convince any candid mind that we are not confronted with a series of chance coincidences and guesses. The experiments with numbers alone would be sufficient to carry this conviction. That other causes such as judgment from gestures, speech, facial expressions, sound from the movement of the pencil on the paper, whispering with closed lips, etc., must be excluded in cases of experiments conducted with agent and percipient in different rooms, and, *a fortiori*, in different localities, is self-evident.

Boirac denies thought transferences but at the same time admits that psychic force can be transmitted from one individual to another without physical contact.[2] This, however, does not affect our *facts;* it merely advances a more definite theory for their explanation.

For our own part we think that failures depend upon our lack of knowledge of the laws and conditions which govern the phenomena. For while we grant that an

[1] Grasset "*The Marvels beyond Science,*" pp. 322 et seq and Coover, "*Experiments in Psychical Research.*"

[1] "*Our Hidden Forces,*" pp. 282 et seq.

idea has been conveyed from one mind to another, we do not know *how* it was conveyed, whether from brain to brain by means of ether vibrations, or from soul to soul without physical intermediary, or whether by externalization of "psychic force." We do not know what process insures its transmission from the agent, nor its reception by the percipient. As a fact, we know no more than that the agent tried to convey the idea and that it was conveyed.

Many with Myers consider telepathy and thought transference subliminal or subconscious functions. There are indications of this both in the spontaneous and the experimental cases. The spontaneous cases are most strongly provoked by incidents which would not chiefly affect the supraliminal mind, such as acts of volition or intellectual activities, but rather would arouse the passions and emotions, which after all have their seat and source in the subliminal—such incidents as death, accidents, approach, and so forth.

The experimental cases seem to depend upon volition, but this might well be a more remote cause, and is not even necessary. The experiments of Miss Miles and Miss Ramsden show, v. g., that in the first case of the first series the intended idea was not transmitted, but the percipient could "feel" the position of the agent. Several successive cases give the same indication. It is not the will to transmit a particular idea which sends it through space to the percipient, rather it is the intensity of presence of the image in the subliminal together with that of the intended percipient which establishes the necessary nexus. And this intensity of presence may well at times be provoked by volition. But volition itself is not an act of the subliminal. If we accept the hypothesis of telepathic phenomena as subliminal functions we might go a step further. It is not only a question of *transmission*, the question of reception is also involved. It depends upon the intensity of

a subliminal impression whether it will rise to supraliminal consciousness or not. Moreover, the transition from the subliminal to the supraliminal may be determined by the degree of preoccupation of the mind and depend upon many other conditions. The fact that hallucinations often do not exactly coincide in time with the occurrence which they represent would go to show that the impression was subliminally received and later penetrated to supraliminal consciousness. And the greater amount of successes in experiments with hypnotized subjects would coincide with the fact that in the hypnotic state the normally subliminal is brought closer to the surface.

Of course, in these matters, we are dealing with hypotheses rather than with facts, but granting the hypothesis of telepathic phenomena as subliminal functions we think it will be easier to understand cases of failure as arising from the increased difficulty of complying with the conditions for success, and chiefly upon the agent's inability to influence his own subliminal faculties as well as upon lack of sufficient supraliminal receptivity of subliminal impulses in the percipient.

But let us return to the evidence. The authentic accounts of facts which lie before us can not fail to prove the reality of extra-sense communication between mind and mind. On the other hand, as Professor Hyslop points out,[1] the very fact that science is ignorant of the laws by which these communications are governed naturally prevents us from ranking telepathy and thought transference among known phenomena of nature. We have not as yet *explained* telepathy, which therefore at the most can be accepted as a term covering certain effects which have been observed and reproduced. As a consequence telepathy does not *explain* phenomena which it seems to cover, but merely places

[1] Hyslop, "*Science and a Future Life*," pp. 37-41.

them on a par with the effects which the term itself embraces. Its value, when applied to the phenomena of Spiritism, would, therefore, consist in furnishing a negative demonstration in so far as it would *explain away* previously alleged causes of certain phenomena.[1] In this capacity at least, that is to say as a term indicating a natural process or exceptional causal nexus between mind and mind, telepathy is now accepted by men of eminent scientific training who base their acceptance upon facts such as we have presented.[2]

The evidence for telæsthetic phenomena we think is so abundant and unmistakable that the fact of per-

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[1] Hyslop, Op. cit., p. 38.

[2] F. W. H. Myers, *in "Human Personality,"* pp. 241 et seq. Prof. James Hyslop, *in "Science and a Future Life,"* pp. 40-41: "My own present attitude, therefore, is that there is at present (1905) satisfactory evidence in favor of sporadic instances of an unusual phenomenon involving an exceptional causal nexus between the thoughts of one person, the agent, and another, the percipient. How it is effected I do not know; nor do I know anything about its laws and conditions. . . . I therefore hold to telepathy as a suitable explanation, if such we may call it, of phenomena that can not lay claim to any transcendental origin of a spiritual kind and that represent a supernormal relation between living minds."

Sir Oliver Lodge, *in "The Survival of Man,"* pp. 33-34: "Physicists deny action at a distance, at least most of them do—I do for one; at the same time I admit telepathy." p. 39: ". . . the leading members of the London Society for Psychical Research—actuated in the first instant largely by Prof. Barrett's report (*in Proc.* vol. i)—investigated the matter and gradually by pertinacious experiment became convinced of the reality of thought-transference. . . ."

Emile Boirac *in "Our Hidden Forces,"* p. 180: "From the mass of these authentic records (*"Phantasms of the Living," Annales des Sciences Psychiques,* giving evidence for thought transference and telepathy) one gains the impression—if not the conviction—that there seem to exist certain means of communication, inexplicable in the ordinary way, between individuals often situated at great distances from each other."

Flournoy, *"Spiritism and Psychology,"* p. 64: "The late researches of Gurney, Myers, and Podmore (*in "Phantasms of the Living"*), then the striking results of the great "Census of Hallucinations" in 1894, as well as a vast number of isolated cases; finally, the varied cases of transmission of thought, mental suggestion at a distance, etc., proved to Myers the reality of telepathy."

Sir William F. Barrett, *in "On the Threshold of the Unseen,"* p. 236, says that telepathy is now largely accepted. And p. 292: ". . . it was not my intention here to treat of other subjects of psychical research . . . some (of which), like hypnotism and telepathy, are, in my opinion, almost as fully established as many of the accepted truths of science."

ceiving at a distance can not be denied. Swedenborg offers the classical example in his vision, while in Gotenburg, of the fire which devoured a great part of Stockholm.[1] Experimental cases may be induced in clairvoyant subjects by means of hypnotism. Simple clairvoyance and clairaudience occur in the waking state or in trance, and consists therein that a person is able to perceive hidden objects or scenes at a distance, or to hear as it were "inner voices" speaking to him. A higher degree of this ability is found in s. c. "psychometry" consisting therein that a person from contact with an object will construct its entire past history and that of persons connected with it.

We quote the following experience of Maurice Maeterlinck:[2] In September, 1913, while I was at Elberfield, visiting Krall's horses, my wife went to consult Mme. M., gave her a scrap of writing in my hand—a note dispatched previous to my journey and containing no allusion to it—and asked her where I was and what I was doing. Without a second's hestitation, Mme. M. declared that I was very far away, in a foreign country where they spoke a language which she did not understand. She saw first a paved yard, shaded by a big tree, with a building on the left and a garden at the back: a rough but not inapt description of Krall's stables, which my wife did not know and which I myself had not seen at the time when I wrote the note. She next perceived me in the midst of the horses, examining them, studying them with an absorbed, anxious and tired air. This was true, for I found those visits, which overwhelmed me with a sense of the marvellous and kept my attention on the rack, singularly exhausting and bewildering. . . . . She made two rather

[1] For examples see: Mrs. Sidgwick, "On the Evidence for Clairvoyance," *in Proceedings, S. P. R.*, vii:30-99; Podmore, "*Studies, etc.*," pp. 421-435; Myers, "*Human Personality*," vol. I, pp. 197, 553-559, vol. II, pp. 217, 251.

[2] "*The Unknown Guest*," pp. 68-70.

curious mistakes in this experiment. The first was that, at the time when she saw me in Krall's stable-yard, I was no longer there. . . . . Experience shows, however, that this is a usual error among psychometers. They do not, properly speaking, see the action at the very moment of its performance, but rather the customary and familiar action . . . ."

Maeterlinck also relates an incident of clairvoyance of a future event occurring in trance:[1] "On the 8th of May Dr. Teste magnetizes Mme. Hortense—in the presence of her husband. She is no sooner asleep than she announces that she has been pregnant for a fortnight, that she will not go her full time, that she will take fright at something, that she will have a fall, and that the result will be a miscarriage. She adds that, on the 12th of May, after having had a fright, she will have a fainting fit which will last for eight minutes; and she then describes, hour by hour, the course of her malady, which will end in three days' loss of reason, from which she will recover." On awaking, she retains no recollection of anything that has passed; it is kept from her; . . . ." yet her prediction comes true.

The value of telæsthesia in showing that certain information obtained through spiritistic trance mediums need not be referred to spirit agency, is too evident to need mention.

[1] Op. cit., pp. 114-115.

CHAPTER VII.

Spirit Identity.

The total value of automatic messages purporting to come from the departed is not to be found in the possible establishing of their authenticity, for the phenomena in themselves, quite apart from the question of revelation from the spirit world, offer great promises of an extended knowledge of our psychical life. It is in a large measure from this point of view that they have been studied by those interested in psychical research, and results so far obtained, although often vague, hold out good promises for the future.[1]

At the present, however, we are not directly concerned with this phase of the psychical phenomena, for in treating of Spiritism as a Religion our primary concern, in so far as these phenomena are considered, is to measure the weight of whatever evidence might be adduced for their authenticity. And this evidence will be found in the script or in the messages themselves.

The matter generally accepted by critical authority as genuine, i. e., as transmitted by the medium from whatever source without intention to deceive, has been gathered since the early days of Spiritism and occupies a volume for our purposes prohibitive of criticism *in toto*. But so much has been written on the matter, and so searching has been the investigation of critics, that certain cases can be said to have been more or less universally accepted as presenting a higher degree of evidence than the rest. Out of this select material we can but draw a few examples which to submit to criticism on these pages. The procedure, we think, will give a

[1] See Presidential address by Mrs. Henry Sidgwick before the S. P. R. *in Proceedings*, xxii:1-19, and especially pp. 16 et seq.

fair *exposé* of the evidential value of the best cases as a whole.

The first George Pelham message is typical of earlier matter, and will, we think, convince any one that the information which it contains could not have been obtained by Mrs. Piper by ordinary means, for years before his death G. P. had had a single sitting with Mrs. Piper, and at that time his name had been carefully concealed from her. And Mr. Podmore asserts that there is no reason to suppose that she knew of the existence of such a person.[1] G. P. revealed himself suddenly through Phinuit and gave a considerable amount of information regarding himself which not only was immediately verified, but was of a nature to exclude the possibility of fishing, of guess-work, or of coincidence. This is strongly confirmed in the subsequent Howard sittings.

On the other hand, throughout those G. P. revelations no knowledge is conveyed which was not in the present consciousness of the sitters—John Hart and the Howards—and, obviously, telepathic communication from these to subconscious strata of Mrs. Piper's mind dramatically representing themselves as Phinuit or G. P. would fully account for the phenomena and completely dispense with recourse to the preternatural.

The "Tyson" incident differs from the foregoing in that, while details were correct, there was an error in time, but this is very common in telepathic and telæsthetic impressions, and would strengthen rather than weaken the telepathic hypothesis.

The only obstacle to a natural explanation lies in the realistic impersonation of G. P., which was consistently sustained for a considerable period of time. Between 1892 and 1897 some 150 persons had sittings with Mrs. Piper, among whom were thirty friends of G. P.'s in life, and out of these all but one were recognized.

[1] *"The Newer Spiritualism,"* p. 173.

But all this may be explained if we consider, on the hypothesis of telepathy, the strong impression of G. P. subconsciously received by Mrs. Piper from his intimate friend, John Hart—that the G. P. character such as known both consciously and subconsciously by John Hart in all its completeness was conveyed to Mrs. Piper with a force proportionate to the clearness, vividness and accuracy with which it was contained in John Hart's mind, and consequently produced an impression of a depth, clearness, vividness and accuracy sufficient to create a "secondary personality" which could subsequently be brought back from her subconscious memory. This would explain the consistency of the impersonation and dispense with the necessity of a repeated reproduction of G. P. from the minds of his friends present at subsequent sittings. It would also explain the easy and accurate discovery of the friends by the bond of identity or at least close similarity existing between the "G. P. personality" in Mrs. Piper's mind and that consciously retained in the mind of the friends. In our opinion there is no need for having recourse to an objective G. P. personality revealing itself through the mind or organs of Mrs. Piper.

The most interesting cases in a study of apparent spirit identity are found in the *soi-disant* controls of departed who in their life had been closely connected with Psychical Research. Mr. Edmund Gurney died in the summer of 1888 and in that year a certain lady claimed his control. He appeared in Mrs. Piper's trances the following year during her sittings with Professor James who failed, however, to see the slightest inner verisimilitude in the impersonation.[1] Sir Oliver Lodge,

[1] Prof. James *in Proceedings, S. P. R.*, v:656: "It was bad enough, and I confess that the human being in me was so much stronger than the man of science, that I was too disgusted with Phinuit's tiresome twaddle even to note it down. When later the phenomena developed into pretended direct speech from Gurney himself, I regretted this, for a complete record would have been useful. I can now merely say that neither then, nor at any other time, was there, to my mind, the slightest inner verisimilitude in the impersonation."

during sittings with Mrs. Piper in 1889-90, also had messages purporting to come from Gurney,[1] but their contents at times are utterly unlike anything we would expect from so eminent a man. This for example:[2]

Lodge: "Gurney, what about those table-tilting and physical things? Is there anything in them?"

G.: "Mostly fraud. The rest electricity. A person's nerves are doing they don't know what. They are often not conscious when they move things." . . . .

L.: "And what about those Indian tricks? Mango and basket tricks?"

G.: ". . . . you mean that cutting up a child and flinging its legs and arms about."

L.: "Yes, that's one of them."

G.: "It is a veil, Lodge, an ethereal veil between the thing and the spectators. They can't see what really happens. It's a delusion, it's done through ether. It's not true spiritualism, it's a gap in ether. But true spiritualism has been real ever since the first life that had any humanity in it."

On this Sir Oliver remarks:[3] "The casual reference of unknown phenomena, part to fraud, the rest to 'electricity,' though quite common with uneducated people, was especially unworthy of Edmund Gurney . . . . In *Phantasms of the the Living* he writes humorously of the excellent people who are ready to jump lightly from the hypothesis of 'fraud' to that of 'electricity,' and suggests that they are equally innocent of either from energy!"

The Gurney control in the script of Mrs. Verrall and Mrs. Forbes,[4] who both had known Edmund Gurney, has no evidential value. Regarding Mrs. Holland's

[1] See *Proceedings, S. P. R.*, xxiii:145 et seq.
[2] Ibid., p. 156.
[3] Ibid., p. 159.
[4] *Proceedings, S. P. R.*, xx:102, 220, 223, 226, 229, 231, 244, 254, 257, 263, 266, 269, 270, 275, 305-307, 395, 408, 415, 427.

Gurney control Sir William Barrett pronounces it singularly characteristic of his temperament,[1] while Podmore concludes his analysis of the case by saying that this control is marked by characteristics which are wholly irreconcilable with the character of the great man as he was known in life.[2] It should be noted that Mrs. Holland had never known him.

Professor Henry Sidgwick died in the summer of 1900 and his control appeared in the utterances of Mrs. Thompson in the beginning of the following year,[3] and later in the script of Mrs. Verrall. His alleged communications through other mediums are of less interest.

Mr. Piddington, who was present when the Sidgwick control made its first appearance, writes[4] that he "felt that he was indeed speaking with and hearing the voice of the man whom (he) had known." Subsequent automatic writing under this control bears a very striking resemblance to Professor Sidgwick's writing, which

[1] Sir William F. Barrett, *"On the Threshold of the Unseen,"* pp. 201-202: "The hypothesis that these messages are due to dramatic creations of Mrs. Holland's subliminal self becomes increasingly difficult to believe when we find other wholly different types of messages purporting to come from Mr. Ed. Gurney and the Hon. Rodin Noel, who were also entirely unknown to Mrs. Holland. When they were on earth I knew these distinguished men personally, and was in frequent correspondence with each of them; hence from my own knowledge I can affirm that these communications are singularly characteristic of the respective and diverse temperaments of each."

[2] Podmore, *"The Newer Spiritualism,"* p. 202: "The Gurney control who communicates through Mrs. Holland is of another type. His constant exhortations addressed to the automatist are marked by an impatience and brusquerie, verging on actual discourtesy, which are quite irreconcilable with the demeanor of the Edmund Gurney whom his friends knew."

Before receiving the Gurney messages Mrs. Holland had read Myers' *"Human Personality,"* in which there is frequent reference to Edmund Gurney (see Barrett, Op. cit., p. 199).

For the Gurney control in Mrs. Holland's script see *"Proceedings, S. P. R.*, xxi:177-184, 191-194, 230-236, 241, 255, 271, 272-279, 291-295, 327-365.

[3] January 11th, 1901.

[4] *Proceedings, S. P. R.*, xviii:236-237.

Mrs. Thompson is certain she has not seen.[1] Podmore, however, who does not think it excluded that she unconsciously might have seen writing from his pen, concludes[2] that "The substance of the communications contained nothing of an evidential nature; and (that) some of the remarks accredited to the Sidgwick control impress one strongly as appropriate to the mind of the medium rather than to the mind purporting to communicate."

The Sidgwick communications in Mrs. Verrall's script[3] show a superior characterization, but this is not beyond what we would expect since Mrs. Verrall knew Professor Sidgwick well. Of evidential value there is very little, and test cases presented by the control were complete failures. We shall refer to one of these.

On October 7th, 1903, it was stated in Mrs. Verrall's script that "Henry Sidgwick's message," previously alluded to, was about three letters kept together. Some further references to the letters then followed, and attempts were made to give the contents of a letter dated June 9th, 1872. But no one seemed to know of such a letter. On October 12th, the script contained: "It was arranged that he should refer to these three letters"; but there was no reference to names. Then, on December 25th and 26th, the script stated that Mrs. Sidgwick would know about the three letters, and later—January 29th—"The letters are kept by some one—those we told of—you have not asked the right person." But Mrs. Sidgwick was unable to make anything of the various references.[4]

The appearance of the F. W. H. Myers control after the death of the great scholar so prominent in circles

[1] See comparison of writing in Op. cit., pp. 238-243.
[2] *"The Newer Spiritualism,"* p. 203.
[3] *Proceedings, S. P. R.,* xx:26, 277-279, 295-298, 300, 301, 331, 332.
[4] Ibid., pp. 295-296.

connected with Psychical Research could not fail to arouse great interest, and there is a considerable abundance of communications purporting to come from this direction, the best of which are found in the script of Mrs. Holland, Mrs. Verrall and Mrs. Piper. The evidential value of the communications of the Myers-Holland control[1] is of a purely negative character in so far as they clearly point to the medium's subconscious Self as their source. The following communication from the Myers control appears in Mrs. Holland's script of November 19th, 1905:

M.: "It is perhaps unfair to state that . . . . is too credulous, but his peculiar constitution of mind leads itself to the machinations of fraud. In matters of this kind the Scientific mind is the poorest guide imaginable. The phenomena that will shortly be induced are utterly misleading. They will not be completely fraudulent—at least, not consciously so—but the influence will be of the poltergeist type, and the lowest forms of physical magnetism will be called upon to produce what the agent in question will announce as physical manifestations. No levitation but the movement without contact will be of the lowest class—not the back of the—(The impulse to write was so strong that I obeyed it in spite of knowing that I should soon be interrupted—and at this point the interruption came.)"

Monday, Nov. 20th, 1905, 9:15 a. m.

M.: "Brief day and bright day and sunset red
Early in the evening the stars are overhead—
Myriads of intended messages break off short.
Broken threads are hard to knit again—

"The properties apertaining (*sic*) to the deception will be daringly simple. The old familiar trickery which

[1] *Proceedings, S. P. R.*, xxi:177-184, 191-219, 221-223, 224, 230-240, 241, 242, 245-249, 252-256, 272-283, 291-295, 365-367.
[2] Ibid., pp. 273-274.

is so old it has almost been abandoned in favor of more elaborate appliances.

"There will be a piece of elastic in his left shirt sleeve—No—nothing so elaborate as a pneumatic glove. The table will be without openings or traps of any kind—that is to say in the upper part but insist on observing where the legs join the frame.

"The luminous paste is an invention of his own."

Here follows a communication by the Gurney control in the same vein, and then:

"Palladia—Mrs. Eustace Lucas—Annie Bird—Euphronia—Katie King—Eustonia—Pallonia . . . ."

The whole message is a reference to the physical phenomena and evidently in part to Eusapia Palladino. On December 1st, the script continues:[1]

M.: ". . . . . I am anxious—From an apparent trifle may rise the ruin of all we have been working for so long.

"Materializing flowers we know all that of course, but it seems new to him and he has a strange gift of credulity.

"There may be raps genuine enough of their kind—I concede the raps—Poltergeist merely—but the luminous appearances—the sounds of a semi-musical nature—the flower falling upon the table—Trickery—trickery. Of course there can be no searching. She would proffer excellent reasons against that—but other precautions can be taken."

December 3rd, 10:45 p. m.

M.: ". . . . Honest, hearty ridicule has a certain vivifying power it stirs the dry bones but the kind of ridicule this would bring would be the killing type.

"Have we endured so long—done so much endured so much hoped so much only to come to an end in the course of the year now coming. It is a very sad thought to me."

[1] *Proceedings, S. P. R.*, xxi:276-278.

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December 5th, Midnight.

M.: ". . . . She is no fool far from it but she has the power of befooling—Wilson knows about it.

"Miss J. will be the best help in this case—E. P. willing not to sit near her—but that can be easily overborne . . . .

"The trance condition is partially genuine the manifestations are simply fraudulent.

"Ask her to allow you to secure each foot in a slight cardboard box—case or cover. She will refuse for the instep does most of the phenomena of raps and movement. . . . ."

December 7th, 11:30 p. m.

M.: "The lights are turned out and a screen is drawn before the fire—E. P. does not care for the environment it is not sufficiently simpatica for her. If she wore soft shoes felt shoes there would be fewer imposing raps and cracks. The toes can do it inside the boot. . . . .

"Pockets—inner pockets will hold a surprising amount.

"Surely lazy tongs have been superseded by something a little more modern."

Myers seems gravely concerned with certain physical phenomena, particularly those of Eusapia Palladino, about to occur. But there is no reason for supposing that the real Myers has any connection with the communications. We have a twofold basis for this assumption.

Before quoting the script in the *Proceedings* Miss Alice Johnson informs us[1] that she had received a letter from Mrs. Holland dated October 27, 1905, in which the latter tells how she has been reading a review

[1] *Proceedings, S. P. R.*, xxi:272.

of Maxwell's *"Metaphysical Phenomena"* which appeared in the *Spectator* on the seventh of that month. The review gives a lengthy and detailed treatment of the physical phenomena and criticises them very severely. Undoubtedly, much that appeared in Mrs. Holland's subsequent script may be traced to this source.

The first references to fraudulent physical phenomena in the script quoted occurred on November 19, and on that very day Miss Johnson was engaged in helping Mr. Feilding in his preparations for sittings with Eusapia in Paris and the matter of physical phenomena was discussed. Miss Johnson herself believes[1] that on this occasion there might have been telepathic communications between her and Mrs. Holland, which would, of course, account for part of the message. The physical phenomena were, moreover, subject to considerable discussion at the time, which all taken together neutralizes the evidential value of the script in question.

Our second reason for disregarding the evidence is found in a comparison between the views on the subject of physical phenomena of the Myers control and of the real Myers. The Cambridge sittings had shaken Myers' faith in physical phenomena, and in Eusapia, it is true, but later he had publicly recanted[2] and accepted some of her phenomena as genuine. His attitude towards the whole subject as expressed in *Human Personality* is quite different from that of Myers*h*. If after death he should have changed his mind on this subject he would certainly not have communicated it to Mrs. Holland alone, but nothing of the kind occurs in the script of other mediums.

These two points taken together to our mind not only disprove the identity of the communicating

[1] *Proceedings, S. P. R.*, xxi:274.
[2] See Myers' letter in *Light*, Feb. 18, 1899.

Myers *h* with the real Myers, but clearly present the script in its essential points as a case parallel with telepathy between the living.[1]

Again we quote Sir William Barrett,[2] who refers to a communication in Mrs. Holland's earliest scripts written in India and purporting to come from the late Mr. Myers. The script seems to give a description of Dr. Verrall, and ends as follows: "Send this to Mrs. Verrall, 5, Selwyn Gardens, Cambridge." Sir William considers that in this case "the fetish of subliminal or telepathic knowledge is . . . . hard to invoke and becomes absurd." At the time Mrs. Holland, according to her statement, had not seen and had no conception of the address, which is not given in *"Human Personality,"* which she had read. But Mrs. Verrall's name occurs prominently in this work, especially in connection with crystal gazing and other psychical phenomena, and could not well have escaped the attention of Mrs. Holland when reading it, and it is not excluded that she might have seen the address of so prominent a person in some magazine or paper dealing with questions of Psychical Research, and either failed to avert to it consciously or else subsequently forgotten it. Thus the impression could have been subliminally retained in Mrs. Holland's mind without her conscious knowledge thereof. Of course, there is no proof to show that this is the explanation, nor is there any to convince us that it is not.

Mrs. Verrall developed automatic writing shortly after Myers' death, and references to the contents of a sealed envelope which Myers had left with Sir Oliver Lodge for the purpose of test appeared early in her script. Several references to Plato's *Symposium* were

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[1] This seems to be the view taken by Miss Alice Johnson in her article in the *Proceedings* referred to, and also of Mr. Podmore in *"The Newer Spiritualism,"* p. 206.

[2] *"On the Threshold of the Unseen,"* pp. 202-203.

made in connection with Professor Sidgwick and Mr. Myers. Between February 12th and April 17th, 1903, there were frequent allusions to a letter or envelope sealed with a four-lettered inscription on the seal and locked in a box.[1] Several times Dr. Hodgson's name was mentioned in connection with the box, who stated, however, that he had no knowledge of any box like that described. In April the script plainly stated that the "message inside" was from the *Symposium*. On July 13th, 1904, it was communicated that the box referred to enclosed a sealed envelope given by Mr. Myers to Sir Oliver Lodge containing a passage from the *Symposium*, and similar communications were repeated at intervals. There was also reference to the contents of an envelope left with two other letters by Professor Sidgwick with his wife. When the envelope which Sir Oliver Lodge had received from Mr. Myers was taken from the bank where it had been kept in custody and opened—which took place on December 13th, 1904—it was found that the message which it contained had no resemblance to the passage in the *Symposium*, nor did it refer to Professor Sidgwick. The whole experiment proved a complete failure.[2]

The Myers control in Mrs. Piper's script is of great interest and has afforded an abundance of material, the best of which, in so far as dramatic vitality and *vraisemblance* of impersonation is concerned, was furnished during her English sitting in 1906 and 1907. To this we shall return presently in connection with cross-correspondence.

In order to elicit from Myers *p* evidence of acquaintance with a circumstance in Frederic Myers' life which would be unknown to Mrs. Piper and her sitters, Mrs. Verrall, after some seances with the medium, asked Mrs.

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[1] *Proceedings, S. P. R.*, xx:299.

[2] Ibid., pp. 301 and 78, 79, 172, 268, 271, 272, 299-301, 327, 399, 424, 425, and *Journal, S. P. R.*, vii:11-13, 32.

Sidgwick to give her some good question to be put to the control.[1] It is to be noted that since 1889 Mrs. Sidgwick had not seen Mrs. Piper except for a short visit paid in December, 1906, or January, 1907.[2] Mrs. Sidgwick's reply of January 19th, 1907, reads as follows:[3]

"I have not succeeded in thinking of any question which could be asked the Myers control, of which the answer is verifiable but unknown to any one; but I have thought of a question of which the answer is known to me and almost certainly unknown to you. When Mr. Myers paid his farewell visit to (my husband) at Terling he and I had a conversation. It was out of doors in the porch of the house. I am not sure whether Mr. Myers had already seen (Mr. Sidgwick) for the last time, but in any case he knew that death must come before many days. Mr. Myers sought that conversation in order to talk about a specific concrete subject, and he also spoke of another specific concrete subject in the course of the conversation. Can he remember anything about either subject and what he said? I could give further clues if you think it advisable, but anything I say had better be said in writing, so that we may know exactly what it is. He should be pressed for details of what he said—more than a mere general reference to the subject. If you approve of the question and would like to have it in reserve in case the occasion comes for asking it, I will write an account of the conversation, put it in a sealed envelope and send it with a covering letter to Mr. Piddington."

The memorandum sent to Mr. Piddington on January 22d, 1907, which remained unopened until September 17th the same year, read in part as follows:[4]

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[1] Mrs. Henry Sidgwick, "An Incident in Mrs. Piper's Trance" *in Proceedings, S. P. R.*, xxii:417-440.

[2] Ibid., p. 417, foot note.

[3] Ibid., pp. 417-418.

[4] Ibid., p. 418.

"In August 1900, when Mr. Myers was at Terling Place for the purpose of taking leave of (Mr. Sidgwick), he sought a conversation with me which took place out of doors in the porch of the house. What he wished to talk about was a memoir of (Mrs. Sidgwick). He was determined that one should be written, had persuaded (him) to write some reminiscences with a view to it, had at one time—since the knowledge of (Mr. Sidgwick's) illness—intended to write it himself, but had withdrawn from this on account of his own book and the short time remaining before his own expected death. He had then talked to (him) about its being written by Arthur Sidgwick. He wanted in this conversation to charge me with the task of inducing (Mr. Arthur Sidgwick) to undertake it. He was to be told that H. (S.) approved, that F. W. H. M. desired it, and leisure was to be secured by . . . . (inducing) him to resign some of his work. . . . ." The rest of the memorandum contains further particulars referring to the subject and a conversation relating to the mode of burial which should be adopted, but to these matters no reference was made in the trance.

At her sitting on January 21st, 1907, Mrs. Verrall told Myers *p* that she had a messages for him, asking him if he remembered having gone to see Mrs. Sidgwick at Terling shortly before her husband's death. To this Myers *p* replied in the affirmative, and again questioned if he remembered having spoken with her alone he answered that he referred to this. A subsequent question as to the place of the conversation he would not answer but asked for time to refresh his memory. He was then told that Mrs. Sidgwick wanted him to remember where he had spoken to her and what he had said to her.[1]

At the next sitting on January 22nd, the Myers *p*, although closely questioned by Mrs. Verrall, could give no other information than that he believed that on the

[1] Op. cit., p. 419.

occasion in question he and Mrs. Sidgwick had taken a walk out of doors near some green shrubbery, that he had told her that his own loss, caused by Sidgwick's death, would be still greater than hers, that he had referred to some matter to be written by Sidgwick and placed in a sealed envelope and also to "some work of (Sidgwick's) which (he) should like to have to bring out to live."[1] So far the Myers *p* had touched upon no point about which Mrs. Sidgwick had asked except the fact that the conversation took place outdoors which Mrs. Verrall knew. Mrs. Sidgwick considers it very unlikely that Frederic Myers in reality had spoken of a sealed envelope, and also that he had referred to unfinished work and the possibility of publishing it. She seems to feel that the experiment already was a failure.[2]

The next sitting (January 29th) shows positive error on the part of Myers.[3] Mrs. Verrall was of the opinion that the conversation referred to by Myers *p* at the previous sitting had not taken place in reality. But this she does not tell the control. The following communication was made:

M *p*—"Now tell me about my talk with her. I must understand whether I talked this over with her on that day or at some other time."

Mrs. V.—"I will tell you. Mrs. Sidgwick thinks that on that day you and she said such things;[4] but that was not what she wanted you specially to remember."

M *p*—"Well if I am alive at all I do certainly recall mentioning this to her."

Mrs. V.—"Yes; she says she is sure that you spoke on that subject; but she wants you to recall two specific things in your conversation with her at Terling which led to action on her part."

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[1] Op. cit., pp. 420-421.
[2] Ibid., p. 422.
[3] Ibid., pp. 422-423.
[4] In a foot note Mrs. Verrall remarks: "This was a mistake. I am inclined to think the contrary."

M *p*—"Let me think this over more carefully and I can be trusted I believe to reproduce it here as soon as I sufficiently recall."

On February 5th Mr. Piddington was sitting with Mrs. Piper and the Myers control appeared.[1] Mr. Piddington suggested that Myers *p* might not have caught the word *Terling* in the question put to him by Mrs. Verrall on behalf of Mrs. Sidgwick, to which Myers *p* replied:

M *p*—"Oh yes, I positively never heard, i. e., to grasp the word before. You are right in this. I understand now and will go over that interview and if you refer to this I will give my answer *to-morrow.*"

On this Mrs. Sidgwick remarks[2] that she does not think that the cause of difficulty lay in Myers *p* not catching the word *Terling*. She considers the important point to be that the conversation took place shortly before her husband's death, and the answers of Myers *p* to Mrs. Verrall show that he understood this.

The next day, Mr. Piddington being alone with Mrs. Piper, the following communication was received:[3]

M *p*—"I remery the name of the place to which you referred last time and I should say with regard to it that I remember vaguely making a suggestion to Mrs. Sidgwick regarding a certain document which I thought she would find necessary to be attended to."

. . . . . .

M *p*—"Look into in case our good friend came over here. Besides I referred to matter pertaining to the College if I remember rightly; also a library matter which she will recall quickly."

J. G. P.—"Yes, I will tell her."

M *p*—"I feel sure of the distinction between the places, *i. e.*, my talk with her at T. and my own house."

[1] Op. cit., p. 423.
[2] Ibid., foot note.
[3] Ibid., p. 424.

Mrs. Sidgwick states that she is unable to recall *any* conversation on those subjects between Myers and herself.

The "library" and the "document" reappear at the sitting of February 13th, at which Mrs. Sidgwick was present and introduced in her own name.[1] The Myers *p* accepts the suggestion on the part of Mrs. Sidgwick that the Gurney library was meant, then refers to a document which concerned Mrs. Sidgwick after her husband's death and to her as saying that it did not matter so long as she gave the library. "I thought it a good suggestion, as it would serve as a memoriam." Rector communicating then asks if Mrs. Sidgwick understands, and upon her negative reply Myers *p* reappears, asking if she does not remember a letter which he wrote to her about it before he "went away," and to which she replied that she thought the suggestion a good one.

Mrs. Sidgwick can make nothing of the references to the "library" and the "document" and has no letters throwing light upon them. The reference recurs on February 20th, when Myers *p* urges her to look for such letters and says: "I distinctly remember writing you or talking with you and I believe I wrote about adding some of your own books to the College library." But Mrs. Sidgwick does not think it likely that she ever spoke or corresponded with Frederic Myers on this subject, and she is certain that it could not have been mentioned in a manner to make any particular impression on either of them.[2]

On March 20th Myers *p* appeared again and wanted to know if Mrs. Sidgwick, who from now on was present at the sittings, remembered that he had made suggestions to her regarding a will; he then stated that he clearly remembered having spoken to her about it and

[1] Op. cit., pp. 427-428.
[2] Op. cit., p. 428.

that it had something to do with Professor Sidgwick.[1] Then again about his Life:[2]

M *p*—"Yes and my advising you to see about—see (scrawl) about his life."

Mrs. S.—"My advising you to see?"

R[3]—"I can't tell you just what that word is. It sounds like Revnua of his life R."

Mrs. S.—"R, e, u, n, u, a; is that it?"

M *p*—"Yes. It was to write it."

Mrs. S.—"To write it?" "Yes, I remember."

Then follows a reference to the death of Professor Sidgwick, and then:

Mrs. S.—"Yes I quite understand. Can you remember what you said about writing his life?"

M *p*—"I do very clearly. I remember referring to some letters and collecting them."

Here follow some remarks regarding this work which represents the actual conversation between Frederic Myers and Mrs. Sidgwick. Myers *p* then makes mention of Professor Sidgwick and gives a message from him. Finally he promises to think over what he had said during the conversation regarding Professor Sidgwick's Life.

After the sitting Mrs. Piper in her waking state several times referred to "Arthur" and "Eleanor" whom Arthur worked too hard and ought to give a rest. The name "Henry" was also mentioned.[4]

In a communication of April 2nd[5] Myers *p* again refers to the Life. He recollects having been willing to undertake the task himself, but, unable on account of other work, that he had suggested that Mrs. Sidgwick should collect certain letters for the purpose, and that

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[1] Op. cit., p. 428.
[2] Ibid., p. 429-430.
[3] Rector.
[4] Op. cit., pp. 430-431. Professor Sidgwick's name was Henry, his wife's Eleanor, and his brother's Arthur.
[5] Ibid., pp. 431-434.

the proceeds of the Life should go to further a cause in which they were both interested. Mrs. Sidgwick's reply that she does not remember this last statement makes him change and say that it may have applied to his own work instead. He also refers to a photograph appropriate for reproduction. Mrs. Sidgwick recalls these statements to have been made in her conversation with Myers, except the reference to the letters and to the employment of the proceeds of the Life. The photograph she thinks refers to the obituary notice of Professor Sidgwick written by Myers and reproduced with a photograph in the *Proceedings*.

Later on in the same sitting new reference is made to the Life, and Myers *p* mentions that he had suggested something about copyright to her. When she can not recollect this he explains his statement, saying that he meant copy and not copyright. He blames the mistake on Rector. He states having suggested that Arthur should assist her, and that this was the chief thing in their conversation at Terling. A few days later repeated reference is made to Arthur and photographs.

The last reference to the Terling conversation at the London sittings was made on April 30th in the absence of Mrs. Sidgwick and with Mrs. Verrall as sitters.[1] In answer to her explanation of another question she wished Myers *p* to answer she received:

M *p*—"Oh yes I think I understand now. It was a long time before I understood about Terling the home of Lady Rayleigh. Tarling where Mrs. Sidgwick and I talked."

We have quoted this case at great length, but on the one hand we realize its importance as a test case, on the other we feel that it would be impossible to come to a conclusion without a study of all the detail involved.

In the whole series of communications Myers *p* referred to the following points which actually were part

[1] Op. cit., p. 435.

of the Terling conversation, viz., 1: That the conversation took place out of doors, 2: That it concerned the writing of a biography of Mr. Sidgwick, 3: That Myers had been very anxious that it should be written, 4: That other impending work made him unable to undertake it himself, 5: That Arthur Sidgwick should be connected with the work.

The whole communication falls into two parts, that received at Mrs. Piper's sittings with Mrs. Verrall and with Mr. Piddington in the *absence* of Mrs. Sidgwick, and that received at her sittings *with* Mrs. Sidgwick. The two parts are very different. First of all, only the first of the five veridical references to the Terling conversation was made during the first part of the sittings —that the conversation took place outdoors—and this fact was known to Mrs. Verrall. A number of other references are made, none of which can be remembered by Mrs. Sidgwick as having occurred in the conversation, and some of which were such that if they had occurred they would not very likely have been forgotten. The references to a sealed envelope, to the editing of some unfinished work of Sidgwick's, to some College business and to the Gurney library were emphatic, deliberate, and some of them repeated and insisted upon.

The "library" reference might be explained if we assume a mix-up in the present Myers *p* communications with those received in February in Mrs. Verrall's script in which mention is made of "library."[1] But the other statements given gradually and cautiously, and concerning matters which Frederic Myers would have been liable to discuss with Mrs. Sidgwick, rather indicate that Myers *p* was engaged in guess work and "fishing," carefully feeling his way while completing his statements. When he thinks a statement correct—as in the case of the sealed letter—he makes it more definite and emphatic.

[1] Op. cit., p. 425.

The second part, as we have said, is very different. The communications begin with reference to the "library," and upon Mrs. Sidgwick's unguarded suggestion it becomes definitely the Gurney library. Next there is a document—Mr. Sidgwick's will—a very plausible subject of discussion at the time of his death. Something may have been said at Terling in regard to the will, but the subject would have been of very little interest since Mrs. Sidgwick alone was mentioned therein. Very likely these two points were guess work.

We should notice that the various non-veridical references from now on cease to be made. On the hypothesis of guessing it would not have been difficult for the Myers *p* by this time to find out from the attitude of Mrs. Sidgwick—or possibly telepathically—that those references were incorrect, and thus to be able to eliminate from the matter likely to have been discussed at Terling anything relating to these things. This, of course, would facilitate further guess work. We need not say that working on this hypothesis we assume the Myers *p* to be a "secondary personality" of Mrs. Piper appearing in her trance, which of course would allow for abnormal acuteness and cunning.

The veridical references in the second part of the sittings were not all given without circumspection, nor were they all fully correct. The statement as to the Memoir came piecemeal and began in a very confused manner. Mrs. Sidgwick remarks[1] that "Rector's inability to catch a word which should have been 'memoir,' or an equivalent, gave Myers *p* an opportunity, had he needed it, of developing the idea in some different way and of denying that it was a biography that was to be written. If (she) had not a little later somewhat unguardedly accepted the interpretation in an unequivocal manner, he might have found it necessary to put out further feelers."

[1] Op. cit., p. 437.

Myers' anxiety that the biography should be written and his declining the task on account of other pressing work were true to reality. It was also true that he proposed Arthur Sidgwick's agency in executing the work. But it should be noted that Frederic Myers had proposed that Arthur Sidgwick should *write* the biography, not that he should help Mrs. Sidgwick in doing it. This, she states, was *her own* desire,[1] which fact, of course, would indicate that the Myers *p* statement had its source in communication from *her* mind.

As a test the experiment was a complete failure because all veridical references to the Terling conversation concerned facts known to one of the actual sitters and might therefore have been communicated in the manner of thought transference to the mind of Mrs. Piper. The assumption that this is what actually took place is rather confirmed by the fact that of the five veridical references only one was given in the first part of the communications, and this was the only one known to Mrs. Verrall; the other four were given when Mrs. Sidgwick arrived on the scene. Another circumstance pointing in the same direction is found in the accordance of the information given by Myers *p* with the views of the sitter rather than with those of Frederic Myers.[2]

[1] Op. cit., p. 436.

[2] We quote a remark by Dr. Lapponi bearing upon this fact (*"Ipnotismo e Spiritismo,"* pp. 183-184): "Altro fatto non meno sorprendente e la facilità con cui nei loro gusti gli spiriti sanno addatassi a quelli dei loro devoti cultori. Si dirrebbe, che, come l'antica Pitonessa nel rendere i suoi oracoli parteggiava per il re Filippo, così oggi gli spiriti parteggino per le opinioni professate da chi li consulta; pii con le persone pie; amorevoli con chi ama i suoi care;—inghilterra gli spirite sono sceptici, discorsivi, avveduti; in Germania, mistici, speculative, transcendentali; e in Francia, libertini, generosi, spensierati frivoli. Negli State Uniti Americani, essi sono positivi, dommatici, arditi, e proclamano la metempsicosi;—Presso i Mormoni e nell' Utah, approvano e incielano la poligamia. . . .In Russia celebrano con grandi lodi la religione ortodossa, e incoraggiano con tempo la propaganda nichilista. In Ispania invece fanno voti che tutte le società spiritistiche se uniscano e si incorporino colla massoneria. . . ."

The strongest case indicating spirit identity in the Myers *p* communications is the Lethe incident.[1] Unfortunately it is too complicated to allow of a full exposition or even of an adequate treatment in this limited space, but we shall try to bring out the points which bear the main burden of evidence.[2]

Towards the end of a sitting of March 23d, 1908, Mr. Dorr asked Myers *p*: "What does the word Lethe suggest to you?" Answers were given in part and in a confused manner and the word *cave* written. Upon waking Mrs. Piper muttered *pavia* and then:

> "Sybil—Olympus—water—Lethe——
> Put them all together—Entwined love—beautiful shores—
> Pharao's daughter came out of the water—
> Warm—sunlit—love.
> Lime leaf—heart—sword—arrow
> I shot an arrow through the air
> And it fell I know not where."[3]

Then she saw a vision of a lady which she describes thus:[4]

"Lady—I want to say that the walls came out, and in the air was a lady who had no clothes on; and in her hand she had a hoop and two pointed things, and she pulled a string, and she pointed it straight at me, and I thought it would hit me in the eye. And Mr. Myers put his hand up and stopped her. She had a hoop, and there was only half of the hoop there."

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[1] Podmore in *"The Newer Spiritualism,"* says (p. 262): "It must, I think, be admitted on all hands that the method of answering the Lethe question was well devised; and that this is precisely the kind of evidence demanded for the proof of spirit-identity; and that, though no single case can, of course, be conclusive, yet that if evidence of this kind were multiplied the presumption in favor of the reality of spirit communication might at length become irresistible."

[2] For the Lethe incident see J. G. Piddington *in Proceedings, S. P. R.*, xxiv:86-142.

[3] Op. cit., p. 89.

[4] Ibid.

At subsequent sittings Myers *p*, or Hodgson *p* speaking for him, repeated the words "Cave," "Iris" and "Clouds," gave the word "Flowery Banks" and wrote that Iris was the woman shooting.[1] "Pavia" was repeated several times. On March 24th, Hodgson *p* controlling, Mr. Dorr asked what Myers *p* meant by the winds of which he had spoken, and received in answer:[2]

H *p*—"Yes, clouds—arrow—Iris—Cave—Mor MOR Latin for sleep Morpheus—Cave."

Dorr—"Good. I understand what you are after now. But can't you make it clearer what there was peculiar about the waters of Lethe?"

H *p*—"Yes, I suppose you think I am affected in the same way *but I am not.*"

On waking up Mrs. Piper saw written on the wall "C," and then afterwards, as though something came in between, "Y X."[3] On March 30th the word was spelled "CYNX." Later variations of the word appeared.[4] Then, in the waking stages Mrs. Piper said: "Mr. Myers says: No poppies ever grew on Elysian shores."[5]

The whole series of communications was utterly irrelevant both to Mr. Dorr, Mrs. Verrall and Mr. Gerald Balfour, but Mr. Piddington searched the classics till he found in the eleventh book of Ovid's *"Metamorphoses"* a passage which in main justifies the answers given by the communicators.[6]

None of those present could recall having read the eleventh book of the *"Metamorphoses."* Mr. Piddington makes a careful survey of the classical reading of

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[1] Op. cit., p. 90-91.
[2] Ibid., p. 91
[3] Ibid., p. 94.
[4] Ibid., p. 95.
[5] Ibid., p. 97.
[6] Ovid, *"Metamorphoses,"* ix:410-748. The story runs as follows: *Ceyx*, King of Trachim, had been shipwrecked and drowned. Meanwhile Alcyone, his queen, implored Juno for his safety, who sends *Iris* to "seek speedily the drowsy court of Somnus (*sleep*) and order him to send to Alcyone a

the sitters as well as of the medium, and comes to the conclusion that Mrs. Piper had little or no acquaintance with classical authors, that Mr. Dorr had not read it, that Mrs. Verrall had lectured on Ovid at Newnham College but that her lectures had not included the *"Metamorphoses,"* which she could not recall having read,[1] and as for Piddington himself, he had not seen the passage until he happened upon it after the sittings.

Frederic Myers, however, had an intimate acquaintance with classical literature, and there is no reason for supposing that he should not have read the book in question.[2] In so far as his knowledge in life is concerned, there would therefore be nothing absurd in supposing that the references to the Lethe passage should have come from him. Throughout the communication there is an abundance of other references to classical literature, which would be rather the thing to expect from Myers.

Of course, Mrs. Piper knew of Frederic Myers' literary tastes, and it would be natural for her trance personality to associate his name with references of this kind. That she claims Myers as communicator does not, therefore, prove anything. But from where does she receive the information? Of course, it may have come partly from Mrs. Verrall's mind, partly, perhaps, from some mind outside the circle. Mr. Dorr had read in childhood Bluefinch's *"Age of Fable"*[3] in which the Ovidian stories referred to in the script occur. That subconscious impressions of this reading may have lin-

vision, in the form of the dead Ceyx, to reveal the sad truth." *Iris* "imprinting her bended *bow* upon the sky seeks . . . . King Sleep's abode . . . beneath a *cloud*." There is a *cave*, the home and sanctuary of Sleep. From the foot of the rock containing the cave issues the stream of the water of *Lethe*. "Before the cavern's entrance abundant *poppies* bloom and *herbs* innumerable. . . ." From among his thousand sons Somnus choses *Morpheus* to produce the dream vision of Ceyx. (The words in italics are

[1] Op. cit. p. 131.
[2] Ibid., pp. 128 et seq.
[3] Ibid., p. 142.

gered in his mind is not unthinkable—on the contrary, it has been shown that impressions received in childhood and later apparently completely obliterated have lingered in the latent memory and returned to consciousness in old age. There would be nothing unnatural, then, in supposing that the test part of the trance communication was drawn from Mr. Dorr's subconscious memory.

Of course, this robs the case of unquestionable positive evidence for intervention of spirits. But the *ensemble* of literary references in the script and the strong, dramatic impersonation certainly make an evidential contribution which can not be easily dismissed, and we feel that while the case does not compel us to accept this evidence as conclusive, yet it should incline us to leave the question of spirit-identity open.

Richard Hodgson died early in 1906 while playing handball and the Hodgson control appeared in Mrs. Holland's script on February 9th that year.[1] It should be mentioned that shortly before she had seen his obituary notice in the newspapers. But the Hodgson communications show very little of an evidential nature.[2]

The greatest activity of this control is shown in the Piper trances both in England[3] and in the United States.[4] The English sittings are of little interest in so far as evidence for identity is concerned. For test purposes intimate English friends of Hodgson's hitherto not connected with the active work of the Society for Psychical Research were introduced anonymously after the trance had begun, but the results obtained

[1] For the Hodgson Control in Mrs. Holland's automatic writing see Alice Johnson *in Proceedings, S. P. R.*, xxi:303-315.

[2] Podmore, *"The Newer Spiritualism,"* pp. 212-214.

[3] Mrs. H. Sidgwick and J. G. Piddington, "Note on Mrs. Piper's Hodgson Control in England in 1906-7," *in Proceedings, S. P. R.*, xxiii:122-126, and Sir Oliver Lodge, Ibid., pp. 226-255.

[4] Prof. William James, "Report on Mrs. Piper's Hodgson Control," *in Proceedings, S. P. R.*, xxiii:2-121.

were purely negative.[1] Sir Oliver Lodge calls both the Myers *p* and the Hodgson *p* of the English sittings "rather shadowy, and so to speak uninteresting communicators" with whom he was not strongly impressed.[2]

The Hodgson control studied by Professor James in sittings with Mrs. Piper in America are of much greater evidential value.[3] The impersonation is usually good and there is a great abundance of truthful information communicated to the sitters. Professor James, however, thinks that any single event communicated could have its source either in lucky chance-hits or in information received from Hodgson in lifetime by Mrs. Piper and stored up "either supraliminally" or subliminally" in her memory.[4] Mrs. Piper, it must be remembered, had known Hodgson well for many years. For these and other reasons Professor James pronounces the Hodgson *p* case an exceptionally poor one, and considers that for successful given information "there are far more naturalistic explanations available than is the case with the other spirits who have professed to control Mrs. Piper.[5]

Before drawing general conclusions we shall briefly consider the evidence offered by cross-correspondence. The idea, of course, is that some one intelligence is directing the communications to the different mediums and that this intelligence might be shown not only to be external to them, but belong to the world of spirits.

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[1] *Proceedings, S. P. R.*, xxiii:123.

[2] Ibid., pp. 282-283.

[3] Podmore says ("*The Newer Spiritualism*," p. 215) that it "seems to have been one of the most lifelike and dramatic impersonations of the whole series given through Mrs. Piper, and many times relevant statements were made of an intimate kind such as could scarcely have proceeded from Mrs. Piper herself."

[4] *Proceedings, S. P. R.*, xxiii: 5 and 4.

[5] Ibid., p. 5.

The evidence for spirit direction of the correspondence Miss Alice Johnson thinks will be found in the fact that the script of each individual medium is quite unintelligible to her, and that the clue to the message is found in the corresponding script of one of the other mediums.[1] Of course, there are many cases which can not be explained merely by chance coincidence. In these cases we must resort to a comparison with the telepathic phenomena, but the question is whether they show that we have to deal with telepathy, or a similar mode of communication, from the dead, or whether telepathy from a living person would offer satisfactory analogy.

First of all, chance telepathy from the living must be considered excluded on the ground that the communicating agency shows a definite purpose and design in directing the communications. Chance impressions of telepathic nature might well produce similar statements in the script of the various automatists, but in good cases of cross-correspondence one script shows no similarity to the other and the message becomes intelligible only when the different scripts are taken together.

Miss Johnson refers[2] to the *"Ave Roma Immortalis"* as the clearest case of what she considers typical cross-correspondence. Of course this script is far from clear in itself, and not even Mrs. Verrall understood it when the clue *"Ave Roma Immortalis"* came from Mrs. Holland. There is no necessary connection between the various expressions in Mrs. Verrall's script except that they seem to refer to the Papacy. And this reference is perfectly clear without the "clue." We think that Miss Johnson admits this.

[1] Alice Johnson, "On the Automatic Writing of Mrs. Holland," chapter VII, "The Theory of Cross-Correspondence," *in Proceedings, S. P. R.*, xxi:369.

[2] Op. cit., p. 387.

One way out might be found in assuming that Mrs. Verrall's script had no further source than her own subliminal mind, and that Dr. Verrall, who already on the fourth of March had drawn his conclusion as to its meaning, simply picked the *"Ave Roma Immortalis,"* which occurred three days later in Mrs. Holland's script, as a very plausible counterpart. But we do not think the hypothesis of mere chance coincidence between Dr. Verrall's interpretation of his wife's script and the sentence in Mrs. Holland's script warranted, especially in view of the subsequent sentence occurring in the latter: "How could I make it any clearer without giving her the clue?" Mrs. Holland's trance personality evidently intends the first sentence to refer to a cross-correspondence.

Miss Johnson offers the following alternatives: 1. Since the topic was in Dr. Verrall's mind, a fragment thereof may have been transmitted from him to Mrs. Holland; 2. Again it may have been transmitted from his mind to that of his wife, and from her to Mrs. Holland; 3. Mrs. Verrall may have interpreted her script subliminally and conveyed the idea of it telepathically to Mrs. Holland. But she rejects the three hypotheses on the ground that Mrs. Holland's script reproduced nothing that had appeared in Mrs. Verrall's, but rather supplied the clue to complete Mrs. Verrall's allusions. Of course, whether Mrs. Holland's script actually presents a clue is very questionable. Miss Johnson furthermore argues that the second sentence in Mrs. Holland's script—"How could I make it any clearer without giving her the clue?"—shows "the deliberate intention of the control to prevent Mrs. Verrall from understanding or guessing the meaning of her script."

First of all, assuming that the direction of a cross-correspondence is undertaken by a "secondary personality" developed in an automatist, we must also take

for granted that the normal personality of the automatist has no knowledge of the activities of the "secondary personality." This is necessary in order not to impugn the automatist's good faith, and is in accordance with the results of studies of "secondary personalities." If we grant this, it would not be difficult to accept Mrs. Verrall's subliminal self as being the director of the correspondence and in that capacity influence Mrs. Holland's subliminal self by communication at a distance. We shall have occasion to return to this hypothesis in connection with the other specimen of cross-correspondence.[1]

The "Sesame and Lilies" incident is of a far more complicated nature.[2] It is not difficult to detect the action of a directing intelligence throughout the whole correspondence. The passages in Miss Mac's script most obviously referring to Ruskin's *"Sesame and Lilies"* are those of July 25th and 27th (D and E respectively).

> "A blue book bound in blue leather with ended paper and gold tooling," and
> "Sidgwick, Sesame and Lilies—lotus the flower of repentance."

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[1] It may also be conceived that a reading of Marion Crawford's book on Rome might have influenced the correspondence. If we suppose that the ideas contained in Mrs. Verrall's script, especially those of the victorious struggles of Christian and Papal Rome, with possible reference to Gregory the Great, Leo XIII, etc., reached the subliminal mind of Mrs. Holland, they might there have been associated with ideas from the Crawford book, and suggested to her that this book was what the script referred to. Her script, then, could be explained as a broad reference to the book beyond which she could not go without plainly solving the whole riddle. The final sentences in the book read: "Together, the thoughts of love and reverence rise in words, and with them comes the deep wonder at something very great and high. For he himself (who loves Rome) is grown grey and war-worn in the strife of a few poor years, while through five and twenty centuries Rome has faced war and the world; and he, a gladiator of life, bows his head before her, wondering how his own fight shall end at last, while his lips pronounce the submission of his own mortality to her abiding endurance—*Ave Roma Immortalis, moriturus Te Salutat.* (Francis Marion Crawford, "*Ave Roma Immortalis,* Studies from the Chronicles of Rome," 1898.)

[2] See chapter IV, pp. 110 et seq.

The obvious references to Ruskin in Miss Verrall's script occur on August 12th and 22nd (G and J respectively):

"praeterita rediviva," and
"Unto this last that was the message to be given.
—note that the words are a clue."

These four pieces of script would be sufficient to make the combination of Ruskin's three books. Mrs. Verrall's script of August 19th (H) is indicative of cross-correspondence with the catchword "lilies" and the nature of the "puzzle"—a literary allusion, and that of Miss Verrall on the same day (J) refers to Miss Mac's script of July 26 (D) and to the more commonly known edition of *"Sesame and Lilies."*

Whether any reference to the mottoes is intended or not is not clear. Miss Mac's message of July 19th (B) has reference to lilies "that grow by Sharon's dewy rose" and to "the dust shall be converted into fine gold." The "Lilies" motto "As the Lily among thorns, so is my love" may be connected with the "lilies" in the script, but the word appears very frequently in the series and this connection is not obvious and need not be assumed. Nor need we assume that "the dust shall be converted into fine gold" has any reference to the "Sesame" motto "Out of it cometh bread . . . . . and dust of gold." After all, there is a difference between the ideas "dust of gold" and "dust shall be converted into gold." If we discard the connection the introductory B-script would then contain

(a) the catchward "lilies";

(b) an exhortation to search the automatic script diligently, and out of the dust of seemingly meaningless scribble will come gold—*i. e.,* proof of spirit-identity.

Certainly this both explains and gives a *raison d'être* to B. If we accept this alternative it would be sufficient for the directing intelligence to be familiar with

Ruskin's three books in question and to have seen the edition of *"Sesame and Lilies"* bound in blue and gold.

We shall now inquire into the possibility of the directing intelligence being found in the mind of a living person.

The cross-correspondence must have been planned not later than March 17th, 1908, when Miss Verrall wrote script A in which "Sesame and Lilies" occurs. On that date the Verralls did not know of the existence of the Macs—as a fact this knowledge came to them on September 26th when the whole series of script was completed.

Miss Mac did not know the Verralls before the series of script was completed, but she knew of Mrs. Verrall at least in January, 1908, when she read Myers' *"Human Personality,"* and where mention is made particularly of her crystal visions. No mention is made of Miss Verrall in that work. Of course, she might have heard or read of Miss Verrall in some other connection, which we can not now verify. *"Human Personality"* does not treat of cross-correspondence, but the subject has been so much in the air that it is probable that Miss Mac knew of it before reading Miss Johnson's report on Mrs. Holland's script[1] in June that year. This, however, is another thing which we can not verify. But the "Sesame and Lilies" is far too elaborate to be likely to constitute a first experiment on her part.

The most plausible theory, to our mind, is the following:

The reading about Mrs. Verrall in *"Human Personality"* caused telepathic communication from Miss Mac's subconscious mind to that of Mrs. Verrall. Mrs. Verrall's subconscious mind, then, desirous to prove the identity of the spirit which it may have impersonated, conceived the idea of establishing cross-cor-

[1] In *"Proceedings, S. P. R.,* xxi:166 et seq.

respondence between this unknown person (Miss Mac), Miss Verrall and herself, and the subject of the correspondence having been planned her subconscious mind—which we may conceive as having assumed a Sidgwick personality—undertook the direction thereof. This would explain references in the script to Mrs. Verrall's script in 1907,[1] also the great elaboration of her script of August 19th, 1908 (H), with its promise of ultimate success.

The hypotheses may seem a little bold, but we think it will find confirmation in another cross-correspondence, which for lack of space we can not quote, but for which we have to refer the reader to the reports in the *Proceedings*[2] or to Mr. Podmore's treatment of the subject.[3] We refer to the "Latin Message" supposedly connected with the "Hope Star Browning" correspondence, in which the Myers control was the presumed directing intelligence writing through Mrs. Piper, Mrs. Verrall and Miss Verrall. We quote Mr. Podmore's conclusion:[4]

"It would appear . . . . from the four months' trial of the Latin message that the trance personality which the experimenters call Myers—P., ... had not even at the end of the sittings grasped the scheme of cross-correspondence; was so far from grasping it, indeed, that not even the numerous hints given in the course of the dialogue succeeded in conveying that idea. From this it would seem to follow, not merely that the Piper-Myers is an intelligence of distinctly inferior capacity, but that it is not identical with the intelligence, claiming to emanate from the same discarnate source, which has for years past been elaborating, through Mrs. Verrall's hand, a scheme of complex cross-correspondences."

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[1] See under A.

[2] *Proceedings, S. P. R.*, xxii:59-77, 320-397, *et alibi passim*. Ibid., xxiv: 11-13, 18, 134, 161, 262.

[3] Podmore, "*The Newer Spiritualism*," pp. 246-254.

[4] Op. cit., p. 254.

The difficulty in reconciling the Myers *p* with the Myers *c* would disappear if we assume that the Myers *v*, which has a clear grasp of the correspondence, is nothing else than a "secondary personality" in the subconscious mind of Mrs. Verrall and that it is this subconscious mind, *impersonating Myers,* which telepathically directs the correspondence.

Mrs. Verrall's subconscious mind seems to have been the originator of the idea of cross-correspondence which appeared in her script in March, 1901,[1] and then was taken up by other sensitives. Real success came only in 1907. But if we consider the non-moral character of the subconscious mind in its assuming secondary personalities there is no reason why that of Mrs. Verrall, having once conceived the idea of cross-correspondence, should not endeavor to carry it out for the purpose of proving spirit identity.

The difficulty presented by cross-correspondences is that they refer to propositions *verifiable in the past or present,* and therefore *capable* of being in the mind of a living person at the time at which the correspondence occurs. Telepathy between the living can always be adduced in order to explain away the alleged spirit control in such cases, which of course renders positive evidence for spirit-agency in this form of automatism unobtainable. But individual cases of cross-correspondence not only leave open the possibility of telepathy as explanatory of the directing element, but in addition to this often show that the telepathic explanation would be *preferable,* in view of the facts in the case, or, even, in some cases quite evident.[2]

Our review of the cases of "spirit-control" which would be apt and expected to present the best evidence

[1] See Miss Alice Johnson *in Proceedings, S. P. R.,* xxi:373 et seq.

[2] See Mr. Podmore's treatment of the "Sevens Incident" in Op. cit., pp. 268-274.

for spirit-identity, and of cross-correspondence as giving indication of a directing influence of discarnate spirits in automatic communications, has by necessity been exceedingly brief. But we are not basing our conclusions upon an independent investigation of the many cases which present themselves, rather, we have referred to the more striking incidents which have appeared in the long series of investigations on the subject undertaken by men and women with long practical experience in Psychical Research, and, consequently, more capable of the task; and dealing with these cases as typical of the best evidence obtainable we have endeavored to show not only its insufficiency for producing *positive* proof to spirit identity, but also that it often seems to take on a negative character. Our attitude has been to exclude the hypothesis of spirit intervention in the presence of a possibly adequate natural hypothesis.

Sir William Barrett takes the very opposite attitude, accepting spirit intervention in the absence of positive proof of the presence of possible natural causes.[1] We do not think this attitude generally accepted in dealing with questions of the preternatural, rather we feel no need for defending our use of the principle according to which we accept a preternatural causation only where possible natural processes of causation would prove inadequate. Acting upon this principle we come to the

[1] "*On the Threshold of the Unseen*" (pp. 209-210).

"The only surmise that can be made is that Mr. Moses had seen some notice of the man's death and career in an American newspaper, and either had forgotten the fact or had purposely deceived his friends. But then, this could only have been one of many similar cases of forgetfulness or deception, and before we can assume this we have to prove that Mr. Moses *did* obtain the required information by means of newspapers or other mundane channels of information."

It may be interesting to quote Mr. Podmore in this regard ("*The Newer Spiritualism*," p. 148): "Stainton-Moses was a graduate of Oxford. . . . He wrote 'inspirational' discoveries and books, and delivered messages purporting to come from the dead. *Most of his clairvoyant revelations can be shown to be reproductions of recent obituary notices in the newspapers and other published material.*" (Italics ours.)

conclusion that there is at present no positive warrant for accepting spirit-intervention in automatic communications.

We have referred to the activity of "secondary personalities" and of the "subliminal self," and also to telepathic communications. As we have pointed out, these things do not *explain* Spiritism. But it is incontestable that these notions cover a number of facts—by no means fully known or fully explored—yet facts of nature, to a large extent capable of experimental reproduction. So far as we know those facts, they seem adequate to cover the problems offered by the psychical phenomena of Spiritism. No doubt we are moving towards a fuller knowledge and understanding of these facts which may in its turn alter their apparent relation to the spiritistic phenomena. In the meantime we can form no other judgment regarding the psychical phenomena of Spiritism than that they have not been proven to be preternatural.

CHAPTER VIII.

Spiritism as a Religion.

In our chapter on the historical development of the Spiritistic movement we have made mention of its religious character, and, apart from certain phases of scientific investigation, Spiritism, both in its popular form and among its more highly educated adherents, is viewed essentially as a Religion. Indeed, Spiritists regard it as a new Revelation, hostile, it is true, to present-day Christianity, but not to what they claim to be the teaching of Christ.[1] They distinguish between the Gospel of Christ Himself and its interpretation by subsequent Christianity, in which latter category they include the doctrines proposed by the Apostles.[2] Christ Himself, they say, was a medium, perhaps the greatest of all, and the truth which was revealed through Him is now forcefully presented and amplified in a form adapted to the age and attested by verifiable miracles.[3]

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[1] "The religion of the future is in our midst already, working like potent yeast in the minds of the people. It is in our midst to-day, with signs and wonders, uprising like a swollen tide. . . . To its predecessors (Spiritism) assumes an attitude not of hostility, but of comprehension. Though new in its form, it purports to have been ever in the world. Christianity it represents, not as a finality, but as one—the greatest, indeed, as yet—of those many waves of spiritual influx which have ever been beating upon the shores of time from the dim expanse of the Eternal. Christianity has spent its force, and now another revelation has succeeded it—a revelation suited to the needs of the time."—St. George Stock, "*Attempts at Truth*," pp. 128, 133.

[2] "If, however, we find that the doctrines of Paul, or Peter, or John conflict with the recorded teaching of the Master, let us cling to the latter, even though in doing so we have to discard many a venerable belief." (Farmer, "*A New Basis of Belief*," p. 34.)

See also the Introduction to E. Katharine Bates, "*Psychical Science and Christianity*."

[3] "Who will say that in the light of the present needs of the great human world, that (*sic!*) Spiritualism has no claim to the attention of the Christian Church as a renewal of Christ's teachings, and a reappearance of the signs and wonders which He promised should distinguish the true believer?" (Farmer, Op. cit., p. 36.)

". . . Spiritualism has come, claiming to add new lustre to Christ's teaching—to enlarge its capacities and extend its influence.

As a fact, so they believe, in Spiritism is again fulfilled Christ's promise of a renewed Revelation of which He speaks to the Apostles.[1] Sir Arthur Conan Doyle sees in it "a new revelation from divine sources which constitutes by far the greatest religious event since the death of Christ—a revelation which alters the whole aspect of life and death,"[2] and he with others hails Sir Oliver Lodge's *"Raymond"* an epoch-making work containing "a new revelation of God's dealing with man."[3] In its phenomena Spiritism claims to present a new basis for belief, which is able to establish the supernatural even before the scrutiny of science,[4] and

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Spiritualism is not more startling to the religious world to-day than was the gospel of Jesus to the orthodox Jews. They were scandalized then by the new light which was thrown upon their ritual and ceremonial observances, and in fear they exclaimed—Who dares to question our most holy and ancient faith? Who disputes the sufficiency of the law and the prophets? The parallel is complete." (Ibid., p. 41.)

[1] Op. cit., p. 42; The author here refers to Christ's promise: "Adhuc multa habeo vobis dicere; sed non potestis portare modo. Cum autem venerit ille Spiritus veritatis, docebit vos omnem veritatem." (Joan. xvi:12-13.)

[2] Robert Mountsier, "Spiritism in England" in the *Bookman* Jan., 1918, p. 517: " 'The situation may be summed up in a simple alternative,' said Sir Arthur Conan Doyle in going over the subject with me. 'The one supposition is that there has been an outbreak of lunacy extending over two generations of mankind on two continents—a lunacy that assails men and women of character and intellect who are otherwise eminently sane. The alternative supposition is that the world is now confronted with a new revelation from divine sources which constitutes by far the greatest religious event since the death of Christ—a revelation which alters the whole aspect of life and death. Between these two suppositions I can see no solid position. Spiritualism is absolute lunacy or it is a revolution in religious thought, giving us as by-products an utter fearlessness of death and an immense consolation when those who are dear to us pass behind the veil.' "

[3] Ibid., loc. cit., "Conan Doyle acclaims the book (Sir Oliver Lodge's *"Raymond"*) as one of such value that its true place in the development of human convictions can hardly be measured by contemporaries: 'It is a new revelation of God's dealing with man, and it will strengthen, not weaken, the central spirit of Christianity.' "

[4] "The new bases of belief supplied by Spiritualism are rational, and they are also scientific. We get our facts, verify them, and then reason therefrom to a consistent theory. . . . The Christian Church had certain theories to uphold, and her facts were made to coincide with them. Spiritualism reverses this method; by so doing joining hands with Science; and while putting many of the doctrines of the Christian Church on a lower basis; at the same time places them on an impregnable and surer foundation."—(Farmer, Op. cit., p. 51.)

to make a more direct appeal, not only to the intellect but to the heart of man, by means of direct communication with departed beloved in this life.

From such general claims it would be interesting to pass on to a review of leading doctrines, but here we enter upon difficulties, for the spiritistic creeds show too many variations to make a true synthesis possible. As a fact, Spiritists disclaim creeds in the sense in which the word is understood by conservative Christianity. They consider it a mistake to identify a creed with the Gospel. "In all things essential," one author says,[1] "Spiritualism and Primitive Christianity are one. Around their central facts are clustered a golden galaxy of truths. Taking the authentic utterances of Jesus, His teaching may be summed up in Reverence, Sympathy, Purity and Love . . . . . Spiritualism clears away the glosses and deductions of ritual and speculation which have gathered around His life and work, and more clearly reveals the divine truths underlying the same."

Both W. Stainton-Moses[2] and R. D. Owen[3] find in their spiritistic doctrines what they consider the essential teachings of Christ. The following ideas, received from communicating spirits, are set forth by Mr. Moses in his *"Spirit Teachings."*

God is not spoken of by the spirits as a personality, for no spirit has ever seen Him. Being incomprehensible to man He is knowable only in His works. Essentially he is Love and He manifests Wisdom, Truth and Justice. He is the almighty, eternal, immutable Life principle and Author of all might and wisdom, pervading all space and living in all men. He has no equal and He is the Father of all created beings.

Man is individual and immortal, a spark of Deity. His life both here and beyond is progressive and his

[1] Farmer, Op. cit. pp. 56-57.
[2] *"Spirit Teachings."*
[3] *"The Debatable Land."*

duties are progress, culture, purity, charity and loving kindness, and his happiness or its reverse depend upon his fulfillment or neglect of these duties.

Heaven and Hell are not places, but rather mental states which may be found in this life as well as in the next. According to Owen we do not earn Heaven by faith or works, nor are we sentenced to Hell, but we simply gravitate to the state for which we have fitted ourselves in this life. Suffering in the future life is a consequence of evil-doing in this, and is proportionate thereto. But there is a progressive emergence from the misery of Hell and the spirit is able to work out his own salvation.

Death is a passing of the spirit from the earthly body to the invisible world, without essential change. According to Owen, the death change is followed by an earth-phase of life which is a supplement of that which precedes it. It resembles earth-life but is more elevated. Finally the soul reaches a higher state in which it becomes God's messenger to men, but even in this state there is constant, endless progress.

Religion does not consist in dogmatic belief, but rather in feeling and in righteous dealing with our fellow man. It is this which determines our happiness in the next world. Jesus is the supreme example, but He is mere man—although perfect. He was a perfect medium through whom God performed wonderful works as He performs them through other mediums today.

Such were the main points in popular spiritistic belief in the days of Mr. Moses. To these beliefs Allan Kardec added that of reincarnation. In the course of time the doctrines have undergone considerable change and modification, following closely the development of ultra modern philosophical thought. From a personal God and Creator of the Universe Spiritists have come to a conception more in harmony with pantheism and evolution. We find this expressed, for instance, in the

writings of Myers, which are representative of spiritistic religious thought in its most intellectual development.[1]

Spirit communication as proving immortality, according to Myers' view, has opened the realm of "Divine things" to observation and experiment, thus abolishing authority and faith as a basis for religious belief. In this, of course, he deviates from the popular attitude of Spiritism, accepting the authority of spirit-revelation as fundamental to faith. To Myers "the impulse of faith will resolve itself into a reasoned and resolute imagination, bent upon raising even higher than now the highest ideals of man."[2] The truest faith for times to come he thinks will lie in finding traces of the "supernal world" through patient study of spiritistic phenomena.[3] Spiritism is a new link in the chain of spiritual evolution following upon the "first high authentic message from a world beyond our own" which Europe felt in the age of Christ.[4] Telepathy, not only between living minds but between the living and the dead, becomes a kind of cosmic Love, binding and uniting kindred spirits in the universe; "like atoms, like suns, like galaxies, our spirits are systems of forces which vibrate continually to each other's attractive power."[5] And in this is found a religious education of the world, which always has been operative between this world and the next, and which does away with any need for supernatural interference or any plan of redemption.

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[1] See his Epilogue in "*Human Personality*," vol. II, pp. 275 et seq.

[2] Op. cit., vol. II, p. 279.

[3] "It may be that for some generations to come the truest faith will lie in the patient attempt to unravel from confused phenomena some traces of the supernal world; to find thus at last 'the substance of things hoped for, the evidence of things not seen.' I confess, indeed, that I have often felt as though this present age were even unduly favored; as though no future revelation and calm could equal the joy of this great struggle from doubt into certainty—from the materialism and agnosticism which accompany the first advance of Science into the deeper scientific conviction that there is a deathless soul in man." (Op. cit., vol. II, p. 280.)

[4] Ibid., p. 281.

[5] Ibid., p. 282.

Religion itself Myers conceives as "the sane and normal response of the human spirit to all that we know of cosmic law; that is, to the known phenomena of the universe, regarded as an intelligible whole."[1] And of this universe he has the traditional pantheistic conception. The supreme business, then, of man is to be found in an out-reaching towards the World-Soul whose "infinite energy of omniscient benevolence should become in us an enthusiasm of adoring coöperation—an eager obedience to whatsoever with our best pains we can discern as the justly ruling principle without us and within."[2] But side by side with such evolution of the inner religious consciousness Myers admits revelation, i. e., the unveiling of truths hidden to us by more advanced spirits communicating with us by means of telepathy. This, then, is our destiny—a process of development under the influence of the all-pervading cosmic Love, of gravitation towards the center of the pantheistic World-Soul. In this process alone is to be found individual salvation.

Of course, to the popular mind, Mr. Myers' views on Spiritism as a Religion must be a closed book. Yet, it shows the philosopher's conception of its acceptance, and while on the one hand it will serve certain minds, on the other it will find, faint though it be, a reëchoing in more popular theories. As a fact, it can be traced in the latest development of spiritistic belief as found in Sir Oliver Lodge's *"Raymond"* and set forth by one of its most modern prophets, Sir Arthur Conan Doyle,[3] who with Sir Oliver Lodge ranks as one of the most able exponents of Spiritism in England in its war development.

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[1] Op. cit., vol. II, p. 284.

[2] Ibid., p. 285.

[3] Sir Arthur Conan Doyle, "The New Revelation," *in* the *Metropolitan*, January, 1918.

The messages received from the beyond, according to Sir Arthur Conan Doyle, give a new Revelation, although not of an absolutely infallible kind, for even among spirits there is a diversity of opinion. Yet, there is a sufficient consensus among the more essential points of teaching which may be summarized as follows:

The souls of the departed are not alone, for with them there are higher spirits of various degrees of perfection. God, being infinite, is not within their ken, but the Christ Spirit, who is nearer God, represents Him and lives with the other spirits. His special care is earth, and He came to that planet at a time of great wickedness and corruption to teach men and by His example to lead them to a realization of a more ideal life. But there is no reference to an Atonement or a Redemptive work. He may be expected again to appear on earth, should need there be.

Death is both easy and painless—a passing from the mortal body, followed by a reaction of peace and ease. "The individual finds himself in a spirit body, which is the exact counterpart of his old one, save that all disease, weakness or deformity has passed from it."[1] Having overcome the first amazement at the change, the departed, still standing or floating near his old body, perceives not only the bystanders, but also the dear ones who have gone before him, and now hasten to welcome him to the new world. There is also a higher spirit, a radiant sort of Guardian Angel, waiting there for him.

Before entering upon his new life the newcomer now has a period of sleep varying from a very few days to weeks and months,[2] from which he wakes up in a state of weakness but soon gathers new strength. In the new life love and common interest unite individuals, and it is full of interest and occupation. It is like life on earth

[1] Op. cit., p. 75.

[2] In Raymond's case it lasted six days; in Myers' a very prolonged period. In the case of children the sleep is of very short duration.

purged of its material pursuits and concentrated in mental and intellectual activities and enjoyments—there is both music and art. The new form of the spirits is like their old one, but there is a gradual perfection in that children grow up and the old undergo a process of rejuvenation till a normal standard has been reached by all. Spirits are clothed and live in communities and the male spirit finds his true mate. . . . .[1]

It should be noted that the existence is not permanent, for the messages received on earth come from those recently deceased, who gradually seem to lose interest in affairs of this world and entirely cease to manifest themselves as soon as all their beloved have rejoined them, and at a later stage they seem to pass to other regions so far unknown.[2]

There is no Hell with everlasting torments; rather the spirits indicate a kind of Purgatory, a sort of hospital for weak souls in which they gradually emerge from their infirmities under the educational influence of spirits of higher regions. The "greatest joy in heaven lies in emptying hell."

Such, then, are the leading doctrinal ideas in modern, popular Spiritism. We have already pointed out how Spiritists reject Christianity and they delight in presenting Christian creeds as misrepresentations of the Gospel of Christ—as the ideas and interpretations of the Gospel of an uncritical age grown stale in a set of dogmas demanding acceptance by unreasoned faith. As such Christianity is beyond redemption, for it "can not change without breaking the crusts of its petrified beliefs and emerging as something entirely new."[3] Sir Arthur Conan Doyle attacks the fundamental Christian idea of Redemption, for to him evolution has proven a gradual transition from ape to man, from savagery to

[1] In this Sir Arthur has adopted Swedenborg's view.

[2] John King revealed himself as a band of pre-Adamite men, and W. Stainton-Moses conversed with Spirits of men from great antiquity.

[3] Tuttle, *"The Arcana of Spiritualism,"* p. 276.

culture, and where there was no fall there can be no need for a Redemption. The very idea of the Atonement he finds repulsive and he refuses to see the justice in a vicarious sacrifice. Christ died, like so many an enthusiast, a martyr for His idea, but His importance for humanity is to be found in His life rather than in His death.[1] But with all this, Sir Arthur tells us, he will not contradict Christianity, for there is nothing the matter with it—it only needs modification based upon a verification of its doctrines by means of spiritistic phenomena. Thus, Christianity must either accommodate itself to spiritistic belief and practice—or it must perish.[2]

Spiritism in the whole of its development is marked by a gradual departure from what is essential in Christianity, and in this it keeps even pace with what is called "modern thought" in the realm of vague religious philosophy. The Christian idea of a personal God and Father, whose individual dealings with us and ours with Him constitute the essential elements of Religion, have been supplanted by those of an impersonal World-Soul or of a distant inscrutable God or Life principle Who does not deal with us directly and Whom we can reach only in so far as He is reflected in ourselves. Instead of leading the soul to man's ultimate end, the blissful contemplation of God, it slips it into a new world of human ideals with its struggles, imperfections and disappointments. And as the Divinity of Christ and His redemptory work are denied, so individual salvation by faith in His teaching and by its practice. Faith itself has been removed from its Christian basis of Divine authority and placed upon the laboratory table of an obscure science. In short, the

[1] *Metropolitan*, Jan. 1918, p. 75.
[2] Ibid., p. 69.

whole supernatural structure of Christianity is demolished by Spiritism, which is shaping itself into natural Religion with a popular admixture of necromantic superstition.

The foundation upon which spiritistic belief rests is to be found in the phenomena in general as giving proof of the existence of a spiritual, or, as the Spiritists are wont to term it, supernatural, order. And particularly the psychical phenomena are held to furnish evidence of spirit-identity and thus to show that the soul of man is immortal. This general and particular belief the Spiritist claims to have established upon a thoroughly scientific ground as being the only one on which Religious belief can be accepted. We think that the preceding chapters will have shown with sufficient clearness the exact state of solidity of this basis, for whereas it has been impossible to establish by positive proof that all the phenomena are natural, i. e., that their causes are to be found in Nature of which we form part, yet we lack positive scientific evidence for a single phenomenon being of a preternatural character. So long as this is the case the very corner-stone is removed from under the spiritistic structure.

But if we abandon the high claims of Spiritists to establish *Spiritualism* (in the true sense of the word[1]) and *Immortality* on the basis of scientific observation and experiment, and if we admit as a possibility that some phenomena might be caused by spirits, still this fails to leave a warrant for belief in Immortality or for our acceptance of the "spirit messages" as forming a true Revelation. For granting the existence of a spirit world, must we not also grant that it may be and in all probability is inhabited by other spirits than human souls? And what assurance do we have that the spirits

[1] See Introduction, p. 9, note 1.

which possibly would communicate have the knowledge, or power, or will, to reveal to us the truths necessary for our salvation?

To go still further in concessions, even though we should accept, not as a scientific conclusion, but rather as our opinion, that certain spirit-messages would show the identity of the communicator with some persons departed, the most we could logically infer would be that a certain human being *so far* had survived bodily death. But from this inference, which can not at present be based upon scientific evidence, the step is long to proof for permanent persistence or *Immortality* inherent in *all human beings.*[1]

Spiritistic claims, no matter how we regard our relations to the Deity, will be found quite incompatible with the idea of a Revelation. On the pantheistic plan, the realization of the Divinity in the individual must needs come through a gradual evolution of his own consciousness, which alone can bring him nearer the center of the World-Soul, and in such a system the idea of an external Revelation becomes rank nonsense. Highly philosophical Spiritism and Liberal Christianity, even where the existence of a personal God is accepted, are not very far removed from pantheistic conceptions. From their point of view Revelation becomes a purely internal matter between God and the individual soul, and Religion means a manifestation of the Infinite in and through the finite—a "knowledge of God, not of

[1] Sir William Barrett makes this point very clear (*"On the Threshold of the Unseen,"* p. 287): "Here let me remark that the inference commonly drawn that spirit communications teach us the necessary and inherent immortality of the soul is, in my opinion, a mischievous error. It is true they show us that life can exist in the unseen, and—if we accept the evidence for 'identity'—that some we have known on earth are still living and near us, but entrance on a life after death does not necessarily mean *immortality*, i. e., eternal persistence of our personality; nor does it prove that survival after death extends to *all*. Obviously no experimental evidence can ever demonstrate either of these beliefs, though it may and does remove the objections raised as to the possibility of survival."

the methods of His working, but the consciousness of His presence. . . . ."[1] The knowledge of the supernatural, then, must come from within, must be evolved in the consciousness of man, and, consequently, here as in the purely pantheistic system the idea of an external Revelation finds no place in Religion.[2]

Seen from the point of view of more conservative Christianity the question takes a very different aspect. We shall prefer to discuss it not on the basis of one or other creed within this field, but rather upon principles which we think must be accepted by all those who consistently look to an external Revelation for obtaining Religious knowledge.

Accepting the existence of a personal God and the spirituality of the human soul, it will be impossible to escape the conclusion that each individual soul owes its being to the creative act of God. For the other alternative, that the soul should have its origin in the generative process, involves us in the most insuperable difficulties. On the one hand we evidently can not admit that physical generation could in itself be productive of a spiritual being[3]—and we speak here of a being in the sense in which the scholastics employ the word substance, i. e., an entity capable of independent existence. It would be to admit the transcended as sufficient cause for the transcending. On the other hand, a spiritual generation is impossible, since the soul, like all spiritual substances, is simple, and therefore has no parts which it could emit. There is nothing left, then, but to ascribe the origin of the individual soul to a creative power, i. e., to production out of nothing, which postulates an

[1] Sir William Barrett, *"On the Threshold of the Unseen,"* p. 285.

[2] Ibid. ". . . Spiritualism can not even afford to us knowledge of the supernatural as it is often claimed to do." "From (the point of view of these systems) it is obvious Spiritualism is not and can not be a *religion*, which rests essentially upon those higher instincts of the soul we call faith. For, as Canon Scott Holland says in the 'Lux Mundi' (p. 15)—'Faith is the power by which conscious life attaches itself to God.'"

[3] Div. Thom. Aquin., *Summa Theol.* I, Q. cviii, a. 2.

act of a Creator, since simple becoming would be an absurdity—*ex nihilo nihil fit.*

This in its turn postulates a purpose in man's creation. And if we admit immortality, which after all is the central belief in Spiritism and logically follows upon an acceptance of the spirituality of the soul, we must also admit that the purpose for which man was created is to be found in a higher, spiritual life, beyond the more imperfect earthly form from which the soul frees itself in death. Now, who will say that it is in keeping with such a purpose that the soul, freed from the more imperfect material associations to which it was bound by its union with the body, and elevated to a purely spiritual life—and, according to conservative Christianity, to a life face to face with its Creator—should busy itself with moving furniture, producing scents and little lights, making sundry noises, pulling people's hair, playing pranks on clergymen and kissing French and Italian investigators of the occult, all at the nocturnal seances of some more or less suspicious character who will vie with it in imitating the tricks? A preacher proposing such a Heaven would at the most find an audience among the naughty children of his town. Or, on the whole, would it be in keeping with such purpose that the soul should exhaust itself giving to mankind in the flesh evidence, for the most part doubtful, of its continued existence?

And would we expect from an infinitely wise Creator even to tempt the liberated soul to such retroaction by failing to provide for mankind the Revelation it might need in order to attain the end for which it was created? Certainly, were a Revelation needed, God would not leave its manifestation to chance.

Granting the necessity of a Revelation, are we to believe that God has chosen and commissioned certain

souls to carry it out, or, in general, that He has selected communication between the departed and the living as a means of giving a Revelation? In other words, are the spiritistic phenomena the means established by God by which we are to receive the knowledge of the supernatural necessary for our salvation? If they are not, how can Spiritism lay claim to our religious belief? And if they are, it necessarily must provide unmistakable signs as a warrant for our acceptance of it.

We have now come to a point where the spiritistic Revelation is tentatively placed on the basis upon which conservative Christianity places the Revelation of Christ. For to be worthy of our religious attention it must needs be a Divine Revelation carried out by agencies with Divine Commission.

Spiritists, we have shown, are not slow to make such claim. And besides alleged proofs for spirit-identity, of which we have already treated, they base it partly upon the physical phenomena as being on a par with the miracles of Christ, partly on the alleged spirit teachings as being particularly conformable with the highest ideals and adapted to human needs—as a fact, in essence identical with the teachings of Christ. It is an odious comparison.

If we consider the physical phenomena, particularly those we have described in the second chapter, trivial tricks of no intrinsic benefit to anybody, performed in a dark room preferably at night and for a monetary consideration at the bidding usually of a hysterical woman, who has to be controlled lest she should resort to fraud, and if we compare them with the miracles of Christ as described in the Scriptures, great works of mercy to suffering individuals, such as giving sight to the blind, strength to the lame, health to the incurably diseased, or such works as calling Lazarus from death and multiplying the five loaves and fishes to feed the hungry multitudes, all immediately useful and of a

nature defying imitation, all done in the open, in broad daylight, and before men, all done for no temporal consideration of gain or of satisfying the curious, but rather that men should believe that His teaching was of God—with such facts before us, how can we fail to see the abysmal difference which separates the two orders? Is it conceivable that God in confirmation of a Revelation would cause or even permit to be performed the most ridiculous disturbance in obscure seance-rooms and by a set of individuals who time and again have been caught in flagrant fraud? Somewhere Gilbert Chesterton says that we would not expect to hear the voice of God issuing from the coal cellar. Nor would we expect to see His finger in the seance-room.

And turning to the "spirit-messages," do we find in their contents any indication of a supernatural influence? Of the great mass of recorded communications only a very small part has a direct bearing upon Religious subjects. Although not always to his liking, the doctrines appearing in Mr. Moses' script are by no means above his own knowledge and intelligence. Home would deliver sermons of a very emotional kind, but so far as doctrine is concerned inferior to those of the Oxford clergyman.[1] The matter which is found recorded in the *Proceedings* and the *Journals* of the Societies for

[1] "He published in the *Spiritual Magazine* an account of a beautiful vision of heaven and purple-tinted clouds which had been vouchsafed to him. . . . Home's 'control' frequently gave through his mouth spiritual counsel and exhortations to his young friends. The names of God, the angels, heaven were continually on his lips when sitting in the darkened seance-room."

The following extract from a letter of Home to the *Hartford Times* describes the effect produced by one of his seances on a certain gentleman:

"When at length the light did beam upon his soul, and the chords of his spirit vibrated in unison with the celestial harmonies that ushered in the birth through the shadows of his old unbelief, the result was too much for his stoicism, and the tears of holy joy coursed down his manly cheeks. It was an impressive scene, and an occasion of deep interest. There are many such in the life of a spirit medium." (Podmore, "*The Newer Spiritualism*," p. 43.)

Psychical Research as well as in the *Annales des Sciences Psychiques,* etc., is chiefly concerned with trivial events of the past, or makes elaborate reference to literature, or simply builds puzzles in alleged proof of spirit identity. Occasionally reference is made to the new life in the world beyond, but no important statement regarding God, future life, or human conduct is to be found except in the automatic productions of certain mediums, outside of which it is only by struggling through an enormous mass of the most confused and often unintelligible communications that one is able to gather fragments and glimpses of ideas which at all have a religious bearing.

A Divine Revelation must by its very nature present *objective truth.* And since it is only in so far as we are unable, at least with reasonable facility, to know naturally the truths necessary or expedient for us in order to realize the purpose for which we are that a Revelation becomes necessary or expedient, it follows that, if given, it must be given in a form and under circumstances which would render it unmistakable.

In this respect the Spiritistic Revelation is wanting, for as we have already pointed out, it is full of contradictions. It presents to us a God, Who is at the same time personal and impersonal, omnipotent and subject to the laws of nature, or Who is a World-Soul; it also tells us that there is no God, or that He is unknowable. There is a heaven and a hell, and again, there is no hell. Future existence is a mental state, or it is a life on one or many spirit spheres, in a tangible world with animals and so forth. In France the doctrine of Reincarnation is taught, in England, America and Germany this doctrine is usually denied. Besides teaching contradictory doctrines the *soi-disant* spirits tell barefaced lies. Phinuit insists upon having been a French doctor, and yet he knows no French, nor does he know the more prominent French physicians who would have been his

contemporaries.[1] The Imperator band revealed their real names to Mr. Moses, who told them under secrecy to Frederic Myers; later when controlling Mrs. Piper they gave quite different names as being their real ones.[2] The spirits also contradict each other. Thus "G. P." through Mrs. Piper denies many of the doctrines received through Mr. Moses—flatly states that they are untrue—and this is confirmed by the Moses control of that medium.[3] There is not one single statement in the spirit communications referring to Religious doctrine that has not in this way been amply contradicted.[4]

The set of doctrines more usually presented in the name of Spiritism by no means corresponds to the religious needs of man. The question of a future life must be central in any religious system, and the hope of Immortality, of a future life, brighter and happier than that in the "vale of sorrows," undoubtedly has attracted a great many adherents to the movement. But this belief is not the exclusive property of Spiritism,

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[1] *Proceedings, S. P. R.*, viii:50, and Raupert, "*Modern Spiritism*," pp. 137-138.

[2] Raupert, Op. cit., p. 140.

[3] *Proceedings, S. P. R.*

[4] Dr. William Potter *in* "*Spiritism as it is*" (quoted from Raupert "*Modern Spiritism*," p. 199) says: "The teachings and theories given through the different manifestations are as various as it is possible to conceive. Indeed, few of the most devoted 'seekers after truth under difficulties' are aware of the endless contradictions and absurdities that were mixed up with the most exalted truths and the most profound philosophies." He then presents some of the more striking contradictions. Mr. Raupert makes the following comment (Op. cit., p. 202): "The writer's own experience and research thoroughly confirm the accuracy of this very unique and typical summary, and although he fully admits that we do occasionally meet with intelligences which will give remarkably sensible and rational accounts of the other world and its life, and which will display a considerable amount of consistency and reasonableness in their statements and assertions, such statements can, nevertheless, in each single instance be shown to be contradicted by some assertion on the same subject, made by a different intelligence and through the agency of a different sensitive."

Judge Edmonds writes in "*Letters on Spiritism*," p. 96: "The spirits, though they continued to manifest whenever invited, and breathed nothing but kindness, good-will, and affection, yet spoke so many falsehoods that he was disgusted with the exhibition."

rather, it springs from the very consciousness of man and finds its echo in every religion, and we even find it in the fantasies of the evolutionist poet:[1]

"God wrought our souls from the Tremadoc beds
And furnished them wings to fly;
He sowed our spawn in the world's dim dawn,
And I know that it shall not die;
Though cities have sprung above the graves
Where the crook-boned men made war,
And the ox-wain creaks o'er the buried caves,
Where the mummied mammoths are."

Spiritism holds out something more than mere promise and belief, for it claims to give *certainty* of Immortality based on rock-bottom scientific evidence, and we have seen how a scrutiny of this evidence and some logical thinking scatters it to the winds. If such certainty is what we seek in Spiritism we shall meet with disappointment.

Again, on its practical side Religion should give guidance to moral conduct. It is essentially the function of Religion to teach man how to live in order to reached his ultimate destination, and there is no need for pointing out the prominence of positive moral teaching both in the Old and in the New Testament and in conservative Christianity in all ages. Nor is such teaching lacking in other religious systems, such as for instance the Jewish Religion and Mohammedanism. Spiritism on the other hand shows an almost complete absence of tangible moral doctrine, and in this respect it reveals its utter insufficiency and weakness as a practical Religion.

The very notion of Religion implies a relation between man and God which can not be understood or appreciated without a certain knowledge of God. And on this point the Spiritistic Religion breaks down

[1] Langdon Smith, *"Evolution,"* No. xiii.

miserably, for while in many quarters the existence of God is accepted, yet the possibility of knowing Him is denied, which fact to all practical purposes leaves Him outside the system, and Spiritism becomes a Religion without a God.

It is not difficult to see that the consequences of such a position must be far-reaching. The denial of the Divinity of Christ and of His redemptive work follows of necessity, and both His example and doctrine become arbitrary. This in its turn leaves man as his own redeemer, and renders him in the highest degree self-sufficient, giving supreme authority to reason and self-will. And here the level of pure paganism is reached according to which there is no authority above man,[1] who should not trust in God, nor weary Him with his prayers, but reach virtue and happiness by his own powers.[2] To the inquiring intellect the Religion of Spiritism has therefore nothing to offer beyond the capacity of philosophy.

Again, the aloofness of the Divinity removes from man every ideal beyond the abstraction and projection of Self. There can be no possibility of love of God unless this projected Self be substituted for the Deity, in which case it is apt to redound to supreme egotism. And so far as love of neighbour is concerned there is no reason for it in the concrete other than expediency, and in the abstract it can extend to his ideals only in so far as they coincide with one's own. The Christian link of love based upon a common sonship must necessarily disappear with the fatherhood of God.

All higher sanction of morality is removed, for the will of the unknowable Deity can not be known beyond its own expression in nature, whose dictates therefore

[1] "Sapiens cum diis ex pari vivit." Seneca, *Ep.* 59, 14.

[2] "Est aliquid quo sapiens antecedat Deum: ille beneficio naturae non timet, suo sapiens"; "hinc non Deo, sed sibi fidet, nec precibus Deum fatigat, sed per proprios vires virtutem et felicitatem attingit." Idem, *Ep.* 53, 13, and 31.

become the supreme norm. There can be no punishment or reward beyond that of nature (and logically Hell has been abolished). In its ultimate analysis sin becomes analogous with inexpediency.

There will be nothing to satisfy the cravings in man for something external higher: worship and prayer become terms without a meaning, and the only consolation for the soul seeking solace beyond the evasive shadows of earthly love will be found in imagined communion with those once dear in this life, who have passed into the beyond. In this all present comfort, all future hope become concentrated — the restoration of those earthly bonds of love and friendship, which have been broken by death — and the godless Religion begets its own gods.

Thus the Religion of Spiritism having deprived man of all transcendent ideals and aspirations, leaves him entirely to himself, a slave to his own limitations and a victim of his own imperfections. And all this could be reached without a Revelation from the beyond. It is the very antithesis of Christianity, to which the Eternal Word has come into the world to be all things to all men, to be "the true light which enlighteneth every man that cometh into this world," so that divesting himself of himself man may be free to follow Him Who is "the Way, the Truth, and Life," and thus to find his rest and soothe his longings not in the fragmentary shadows of introspective contemplation of the Deity, but in seeing God face to face.

CHAPTER IX.

Moral Aspects of Spiritism.

In the beginning of the present work we stated our position regarding the relation of Theology to an investigation of Spiritism. A study of the best authenticated phenomena on record has failed to show evidence for other than natural causes, and, consequently, we have arrived at the conclusion that Spiritism cannot be shown to contain a preternatural element.

Many theological writers have viewed the question in another light and accepted the phenomena and mediumship as at least in part preternatural. Among Catholic exponents of this view we find Father Perrone of the Society of Jesus[1] and Mr. Godfrey Raupert,[2] a former Spiritist. We shall not enter upon a discussion of their views, but refer for our contrary position to our chapters on *Genuine and Spurious Phenomena, Spiritism and Psychology,* and *Spirit Identity.*

On the other hand, as we have set forth in these chapters, we do not think that positive proof can be given for the total absence of preternatural causation in the *ensemble* of the phenomena. For while it has been possible to explain them away by appealing to automatic activity of *"secondary personalities,"* subliminal memory and impressions, telepathy, and so forth, it may also be possible that in individual instances there has actually been present an influence from a spirit world. If we grant this possibility, it is more than likely that this element would be of a diabolical order. The assumption that God would allow departed human beings, whether in a probationary state or after

[1] *"De Virtute Religionis."*
[2] *"Modern Spiritism," "Dangers of Spiritualism."*

they have attained their supernatural end, to cause the phenomena presented by Spiritism is, as we have said in the preceding chapter, preposterous. And, besides, whence does a discarnate soul receive the power necessary for their performance?

Mr. Raupert finds positive proof for diabolical agency in Spiritism in the moral depravation which he has been able to notice in mediums, and in those in general who take part in spiritistic practices,[1] but in our survey we have been unable to find evidence for the support of this claim. There is no denial of the fact that injudicious use of hypnotism and of suggestion in the trance will bring about disastrous results, as shown for instance in the case of Dr. Forel's subject, who under the influence of repeated induction of somnambulism by university students, spiritists, etc., had developed a "secondary personality" exhibiting the gravest moral depravity, which had become permanent with her. But there were no devils in the case, outside of the aforesaid students and spiritists, as may be amply shown by the fact that proper hypnotic treatment under the skillful care of Dr. Forel gradually restored this unfortunate woman to her former and better self.[2]

All Catholic Theologians, however, who treat of the subject, uphold the view that where a preternatural element is found in Spiritism it is to be referred to the agency of evil spirits rather than to that of souls of the departed, and their opinion was shared by many spiritists in the early stages of the movement,[3] and finds support among Protestant Clergymen.[4]

While theological opinion strongly leans towards diabolical agency in spiritistic phenomena and in

[1] "*Dangers of Spiritualism*"; see also Lapponi, "*Ipnotismo e Spiritismo*," pp. 229 et seq.

[2] See p. 189, note.

[3] See T. L. Harris, "*Modern Spiritualism*," and "*Arcana of Christianity*," and also *Dialectical Report*, pp. 218, 220, 223.

[4] Podmore, "*Modern Spiritualism*," vol. II, p. 168, note 4.

mediumship, no definite conclusion will be reached on this point unless positive proof for preternatural causation should be forthcoming. In the meantime—as the question stands—we should take warning of the dangers which may be hidden in Spiritism.

Quite apart from the question of actual intercourse with spirits, whether with those of the dead or with demons, Spiritism has its theological aspects. We have treated of Spiritism as a Religion, that is, broadly, the dogmatic aspect of its religious claims and teachings. It remains to discuss Spiritism from a moral point of view, that is to say from the point of view of our conduct towards its teachings and practices.

Needless to say, as Christians we cannot accept a Religion which is opposed to Christianity. But Spiritism is often found to embody beliefs which are in harmony with Christian teachings, such as, for instance, the belief in a purgative state of the soul after death, in which state the soul may communicate with the living. No doubt, such teachings smack of the doctrines of Purgatory and of the Communion of Saints. Would it be licit, then, to add to our present notions of these doctrines as presented by the teaching authority of the Church those supplied by Spiritism which do not contradict the former? The answer is very obvious since additional knowledge of such and similar kind could be obtained only by means of a new Revelation, which we have shown not to be furnished by means of mediumistic communications. It would unreservedly be an act of superstition to embody any of the teachings of Spiritism in our religious belief, no matter how well they may seem to supplement Christian doctrine. We might as well draw from our own fancies.

The practices of Spiritism as such postulate at least attempted evocation of the souls of the departed for the purpose of gaining knowledge otherwise hidden or to produce extraordinary effects. From this point of view it is not an entirely new art, for similar practices, as mentioned in our *Introduction,* have been recorded since very remote ages under the name of Necromancy. They have always been held gravely illicit, both among the Hebrews and by the Church.

Among the Hebrews persons having a "divining or pythonical spirit," that is, those by whom the spirits of the dead were evoked, were deemed worthy of death: "A man or a woman, in whom there is a pythonical or divining spirit, dying, let them die; they shall stone them; their blood be upon them."[1] The mere consultation of such persons was considered a horrible crime; the Lord will destroy a soul who goes after magicians and soothsayers, or who observes dreams and omens or consults fortune-tellers, or who seeks the truth from the dead.[2]

Theologians classify necromancy as a kind of divination, consisting in an explicit invocation of demons for the purpose of obtaining otherwise hidden truth. Saint Thomas Aquinas says that expressly evoked demons are wont to foretell future events in many ways, but at times through the apparitions or speech of the departed,

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[1] *Levit.* xx:27, cfr. I. *Kings* xxviii:9.

[2] "The soul shall go aside after magicians and soothsayers and shall commit fornication with them, I will set my face against that soul, and destroy it out of the midst of its people." *Levit.* xx:6.

"Neither let there be found among you any one that . . . consulteth soothsayers, or observeth dreams and omens, . . . nor charmer, nor any one that consulteth pythonic spirits, or fortune-tellers, or that seek the truth from the dead. For the Lord abhorreth all these things, and for these abominations he will destroy them at thy coming." *Deuter.* xviii:10-12.

In other passages similar practices are condemned.

IV *Kings* xvii:17; xxi:6; xxiii:24; *Isaias* viii:19-20, etc.; *Acts* viii: 9 et seq.; xiii:6-10.

and this kind is called *necromancy*.[1] Again he says that there are three kinds of divination, the first of which consists in *manifest* invocation of demons, which is part of necromantic practices.[2] Saint Alphonsus Ligouri defines necromancy as an *explicit* invocation or pact with the devil, as when he teaches through Phytons or through the persons of the dead or of appearing human beings.[3] In this regard the Theologians do not base their distinction between implicit and explicit evocation of demons upon the intention of the person evoking them, but rather upon the contingency whether or not spirits are evoked, since no matter what spirits are intended only the demons respond to the evocation. Furthermore, they assume that the purpose of evoking the spirits is to obtain knowledge of contingent and free future events and of otherwise occult and unknowable things.[4] The malice of divination, and consequently of necromancy, arises partly from the fact that its practice implies paying divine honors to creatures by expecting from them what should be expected only from God, partly from the pact with the devil.[5]

Our study of the phenomena of Spiritism has led us to the conclusion that they do not exceed the powers of nature and that, where deliberate fraud is absent, they

[1] "Daemones autem expresse invocati solent futura praenuntiare multiplicater: . . . *quandoque* vero per mortuorum aliquorum apparitionem, vel locutionem: et haec species vocatur *necromantia*." *Summa Theol.* 2, 2æ, Q. xcv, a. 3, in corp.

[2] "Sic *ergo patet, triplex esse divinations genus:* quorum *primum* est per manifestam daemonum invocationem; quod pertinet ad *necromanticos*"; Op. cit. 2, 2æ, Q. xcv, a. 3, in fine corporis.

[3] "Divinatio est duplex: una, in qua est invocatio, vel pactum expressum cum daemone, et generali nomine dicitur Necromantia: ut, cum Daemon occulta docet per Pythones . . . per personas mortuorum, vel virorum apparentium." *Theologia Moralis*," Tom. I, lib. iii, no. 6, cfr. Suarez, "*De Religione*," Tom. I, Tract. III, lib. ii, cap. viii. no. et 3.

[4] St. Alphonsus, Op. cit., lib. iii, no. 5: "Divinatio est, cum quis opem daemonis tacite, vel expresse invocat, ut noscat res contingentes et libere futuras, aliterve occultas et naturaliter incognoscibiles."

[5] St. Alphonsus, Op. cit., lib. iii, no. 15.

can be referred to psychological causes. Modern manuals of Moral Theology do not support our view, but it is to be noted that Theologians have referred the phenomena to diabolic agencies only where a natural causation would be inadequate for their explanation. Of course, this standpoint must be admitted, but at the same time it must be admitted that Psychical Research has failed to show the inadequacy of a natural causation in the vast quantity of phenomena which has fallen under its investigation. We believe that the devil not only can but actually does interfere in the order of things, as has been shown for instance in cases of diabolic possession, but no case should be accepted as diabolical in the absence of sufficient evidence. It is possible, then, that spiritistic phenomena have been preternaturally caused, but, on the other hand, over thirty years of careful investigation on two continents have failed to produce evidence for such contingency. In themselves, then, apart from their interpretation, the phenomena generally speaking must be held to be of a non-moral character.

This verdict, however, is complicated by the circumstances under which the phenomena occur. We do not speak of those fraudulently produced, for it is evident that such practice cannot be licit. The genuine phenomena, taken as a whole, depend upon automatic action on the part of the medium, exerted under the influence of a "secondary personality," that is to say, in a state of dissociation of the rational faculties. This dissociation is usually sufficiently advanced to constitute the trance state, which is comparable with the somnambulistic state induced in hypnotism. First of all, we have to inquire into the lawfulness of inducing this state for the purpose of producing spiritistic phenomena. And besides we have to take into consideration the fact that the medium usually interprets her "secondary personality" as being an external spirit taking possession of her.

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Induction of the somnambulistic state, *i. e.*, in a broad sense, of Hypnotism, is harmful to physical health as well as to morality. It arouses latent hysterical nerves, and if often repeated tends to make the hypnotic state habitual.[1] While under the supervision of skilled medical men suggestion in the somnambulistic or in the waking state may be of highest therapeutic value, its exercise by the unskilled layman usually leads to disastrous results. This is true also of autosuggestion. Dr. Forel holds that the harm and the crime resulting from suggestion should be blamed chiefly upon lay people and in particular upon Spiritists who encourage the often-hysterical mediums to actions which are greatly derogatory to their health.[2] An indiscriminate use of suggestion, or even encouragement of autosuggestion, is therefore gravely wrong, and must receive the most severe condemnation.

Apart from this consideration the trance-state involves a more or less complete surrender of one's rational faculties, particularly of the will. The lawfulness of voluntary deprivation of reason is disputed among Theologians, the more probable opinion being that it can be allowed only when brought about indirectly and for a grave reason.[3]

Theologians admit the lawfulness of the use of hypnotism in medical practice[4] and Genicot extends this per-

[1] Lapponi, Op. cit., p. 225.

[2] "Tatsächlich sind die Schädigungen und die Verbrechen, die der Suggestion zuzuschreiben sind, meistens das Werk von Laien, besonders von Spiriten. Diese Leute begreifen gar nicht, dass sie mit dem Gehirn ihrer meistens hysterischen "Medien" arbeiten, und muten denselben Dinge zu, die schliesslich die Gesundheit schwer schädigen, wenn nicht noch Betrug oder Attentate hinzukommen. Förmliche Epidemien von hysterischen Anfällen, Autohypnosen u. dergl. m. sind schon dadurch entstanden."—Forel "*Hypnotismus*," p. 273.

[3] St. Alphonsus, Op. cit., lib. v, no. 76; cfr. St. Thomas, *Summa Theol.* i, 2æ, Q. lxxxviii, a. 5.

[4] Sabetti-Barrett, "*Comp. Theol. Moral.*," no. 209, Resp. 4°: "non omnes et absolute damnandos esse qui vellent, adhibitis cautelis, hypnotismum experiri ad bonum finem, v. gr., ad curandos morbos aliter non sanabiles."

See also Lehmkuhl, "*Theol. Moral.*," vol. I, no. 502, D'Annibale, "*Summula Theol. Moral.*," vol. II, no. 53, n.

mission to cover cases of promoting knowledge in sciences such as psychology and medicine.[1] There is no reason why such permission should not include auto-suggestion. The Holy Office, pronouncing upon experiments in suggestion undertaken in the name of medical science, forbids experiments with phenomena which *for certain* exceed the powers of nature, but tolerates those which are doubtful, and, *a fortiori,* those which are certainly natural.[2]

For the present we shall not consider the medium's interpretation of the phenomena. It is true that almost all genuine mediums interpret them in the spiritistic sense, and it is questionable if such an interpretation at length can be avoided since, at least in the psychical and the majority of the physical phenomena, this subliminal interpretation is a necessary condition for their successful production. It would be difficult to conceive, *v. g.,* Mrs. Piper producing automatic script without at least in her trance-state subliminally interpreting her "secondary personality" or "dissociated polygon" as being the person purporting to communicate. The history of Spiritism bears out this assumption, for the great majority of mediums are convinced of the distinct individuality of their "controls." But we shall discuss this point further in connection with the subjective nature of the phenomena.

[1] Genicot, *"Theol. Moral.,"* vol. I, no. 265.

[2] "N. N. artis medicae doctor, ad pedes Sanctitatis Vestrae provolutus, ut suae conscientiae consulat, humiliter petit, an liceat sibi partem habere in disputationibus, quae fiunt a societate scientiarum medicarum, de suggestionibus in cura puerorum infirmorum. Agitur non de discutiendis tantum experimentis iam factis, sed etiam de novis experimentis agendis, sive haec rationibus naturalibus explicari possint, sive non. . . ."

Responsum est: "Quoad experimenta iam facta permitti posse, modo absit periculum superstitionis et scandali: et insuper orator paratus sit stare mandatis S. Sedis, et partes theologi non agant. Quoad nova experimenta, si agatur de factis, quae *certo* naturae vires praetergradiantur, non licere; sin vero de hoc dubitetur, praemissa protestatione nullam partem haberi velle in factis praeternaturalibus, tolerandum, modo absit periculum scandali.—S. O. I., 26, iul., 1889.

From what has been said we may conclude that so far as the *objective* nature of the phenomena is concerned, that is, quite apart from their interpretation, they can not be absolutely and unconditionally condemned as in themselves illicit.

The subjective nature of the phenomena is to be found in their interpretation in the mind of the sitters and of the medium. In spiritistic practices properly so called the phenomena, no matter what be their actual nature, are referred to the agency of the souls of the departed. From a theological point of view we must return, then, to what has been said in regard to necromancy and consider the phenomena, this time in their *subjective* nature, in connection with diabolical evocation and with paying tribute to creatures which is due to God alone. Of course the question largely depends upon the contingency whether or not activity in our world on the part of the departed and by their own power is at all thinkable.

The Theologians whom we have quoted deny that such power could be natural to the discarnate soul. First of all, in the present life the soul has no power over matter except that which it exercises through the body with which it is united. This is shown by the fact that its power over the limbs of its body totally ceases in the case of a limb which withers. It is in the nature of the soul to be the lifegiving principle of its own body, but this nature implies no immediate power over other material things. Hence, the nature of the soul remaining unchanged after death, it could be in possession of no power over matter in the separated state.

But this argument is by no means convincing. We must admit that we have no absolute knowledge of the nature of the soul—as a fact it is such knowledge that is sought in spiritistic experiments. From the fact that the soul while united with the body displays no power over objects outside of its organism, it does not follow

that it does not possess such power, for its failure to display it may depend simply upon its limitation to the body by the very fact of its being united with it. It remains certain that the soul has power over material things, since it acts upon the body, and it is by no means clear why this power should disappear with death.

Theologians do not deny the possibility of a purely spiritual being exerting power over matter, rather they affirm it as an actuality in the case of angels and demons who are capable not only of effecting locomotion of material objects, but also of producing effects of sense in the imagination of man.[1]

From this admission it follows that the nature of a purely spiritual substance does not exclude the possession of such power, for which reason we think that on purely philosophical grounds it can not be denied in the case of discarnate souls.

However, the assumption that the discarnate soul should actually have power to interfere in our world militates against human experiences, for if possessed it would evidently have a purpose and consequently be exercised. Now, it is precisely in spiritistic practices that this power is claimed to be exercised, and, yet, investigation so far not only has been unable to confirm this claim even in a single case, but has actually brought strong, although not conclusive, evidence against it.

Again, it may be said that although the discarnate soul may have no power to affect material objects, still, in a purely spiritual manner it may be able to communicate with the souls of living human beings. The existence of a manner of communication from mind to mind outside the ordinary channels of sense in what is known as telepathy and thought transference is fairly well established, and this may just be the means by which a discarnate soul can communicate directly

[1] St. Thomas, "*Summa Theol.*," I, Q. cx, a. 2; Q. cxi, a. 3 et 4.

with one still in the flesh. This, indeed, is in itself possible, but it does not follow from the fact of telepathic communication between the living, for we cannot show that the nature of such communication is purely psychological.

Our argument so far has failed to justify an *a priori* attitude of rejecting the possibility of interference in the material world or of communication on the part of discarnate souls. Nor is it likely that positive experimental evidence will be found in support of such an attitude, although the negative evidence brought forth by Psychical Research goes to show that *de facto* such interference or communication do not take place. If we turn to Holy Writ we shall find in the texts already quoted a clear indication that under any circumstances practices of evoking the souls of the departed are gravely illicit. At the same time our texts do not show that these practices necessarily involve diabolic intercourse. Yet, the prohibition against them is more than mere positive law, for to God they are said to be an abomination, and a human being indulging in them is deemed worthy of destruction. Such terms would indicate a transgression against nature which would bear out our teleological argument in the preceding chapter.

If we now return to the original question of diabolic intercourse in practices of evoking the spirits of the dead, it seems that subjectively considered the practices of Spiritism need not involve such malice. First of all, the intention of the medium and of the sitters is not to evoke demons, but to establish communication with the dead. Whether or not seances, generally speaking, should be considered to involve formal and explicit evocation of the dead is difficult to determine, but often this seems to be the case when the medium accommodates sitters desirous of communicating with a certain deceased person. Granting that the evocation of the dead *de facto* would be impossible, the only other alter-

native is by no means to be found in communication with demons, for the experimental evidence at hand in every case points to living human minds as the source of the alleged communications or to the automatism of the medium as that of the physical phenomena. It cannot, therefore, be said that attempted intercourse with the departed necessarily implies evocation of demons. Nor can we draw such a conclusion from the purpose of spiritistic practices in general; for to a large extent the truth sought for is not in excess of the capacity of the human mind, and if our records are correct the truth and untruth which the messages convey have not been of a transcendental order. On the other hand, we should not deny that spiritistic practices may be carried within the ken of superstitions, such as divination and vain observances. Whether or not this is actually the case must, however, be determined in individual instances.

The basic malice in spiritistic practices is to be found in their opposition to the virtue of Religion in that they explicitly attribute to creatures what belongs to God alone. For our knowledge of a future life and of those who have already entered upon it can come only from God. To seek it from the spirits of the departed, then, is not only vain and useless, but is an explicit paying of divine honor and tribute to them. Besides this basic malice of superstition the spiritistic practices involve a direct danger of religious perversion in so far as the lucubrations of the mediums are accepted as revealed religious truths. But we have already dealt sufficiently with this point. Finally, although remote, the danger of diabolical intercourse can not be said to be totally absent.

From what we have said it follows that the practice of Spiritism, whether as medium or as inquirer, can

under no circumstances escape the condemnation of being gravely illicit. In confirmation of this conclusion we refer to the decree of the Holy Office of March 30, 1898.[1]

On the other hand it can not be denied that scientifically conducted experiments with mediums both have led to advancement in psychological science and helped to check the spread of superstition by uncovering fraud and furnishing natural explanations of the phenomena. We have shown that considering the objective nature of the phenomena in itself there is nothing unlawful in their provocation so long as the medium is safeguarded against injury. But even though the investigator should be immune from superstition, this is rarely the case with the medium.

Till recently Theologians have considered it allowable to join a circle already prepared for performance if the sitter in question renounces all intercourse with spirits, and takes a merely passive part in the performance as such, provided that there is a laudable reason for participation, such as investigation of the causes of the phenomena or exposure of fraud, and that all danger of perversion and scandal is excluded. For under such circumstances his coöperation is remote and given for a grave reason.

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[1] Quaesitum: "Titius exclusa omni conventione cum spiritu maligno, evocare solet animas defunctorum. Ita procedit: Solus, sine quibuscumque caeremoniis, preces dirigit ad ducem militiae coelestis, ut ille sibi concedat facultatem loquendi cum spiritu alicuius determinatae personae. Aliquantulum expectat, dein manum compositam as scribendum sentit moveri, quo certior fit de praesentia spiritus. Ipse exponit quae scire cupit, et manus scribit responsa ad ea quae ipse proposuerat. Responsa concordant omnia cum fide et doctrina Ecclesiae circa vitam futuram; spectant plerumque statum in quo reperiatur anima alicuius defuncti, necessitatem quam habet recipiendi iuvaminis ex suffragiis, quaerimonias de negligentia cognatorum.—Quibus expositis, quaeritur, num licitus sit agendi modus Titii."

Resp. "Uti exponitur, non licere."

Approved by H. H. Leo XIII April 1, 1898. See Analecta *Ecclesiastica*, VI, 187.

In 1917, however, the Holy Office published a decree according to which even such passive assistance is forbidden.[1] The question proposed to the Holy Office specifically inquired whether it was allowable to take part in any spiritistic communications or manifestations, even of an unfraudulent and reverential nature, either by interrogating the "souls" or spirits, or by listening to their answers, or as a simple spectator tacitly or expressly protesting that he wishes to have nothing to do with the malign spirits. The decree clearly contemplates active or passive presence at *spiritistic* seances, and rightly condemns it. Whether the decree contemplates laboratory work with entranced persons, which is conducted wholly without reference to spirits of any kind, is not stated. And until the decree is extended to cover even this aspect of the case, we do not presume to enlarge its very definitely expressed scope by claiming that it condemns the foe of Spiritism along with Spiritism itself.

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[1] *Suprema Sacra Congregatio S. Officii.* De Spiritismo. 24 apr. 1917—In plenario conventu habito ab Emis ac Rmis Dnis Cardinalibus in rebus fidei et morum Inquisitoribus Generalibus, proposito dubio: "An liceat per *Medium*, ut vocant vel sine *Medio*, adhibito vel non hypnotismo, locutionibus aut manifestationibus spiritisticis quibuscumque adsistere, etiam specie honestatis vel pietatis praeseferentibus, sive interrogando animas aut spiritus, sive audiendo responsa, sive tantum aspiciendo, etiam cum protestatione tacita vel expressa nullam cum malignis spiritibus partem se habere velle."—Iidem Emi ac Rmi Patres respondendum decreverunt. "*Negative* in *omnibus.*"

Et Feria v, die 26 eiusdem mensis, Summus D. N. D. Benedictus Div. Prov. P. P. XV relatam sibi Emorum Patrum resolutionem adprobavit.

Datum Romae, etc., die 17 aprilis 1917.—See *The Ecclesiastical Review*, Aug. 1917, p. 186.

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DEUS LUX MEA

THESES

QUAS

AD DOCTORATUM

IN

SACRA THEOLOGIA

Apud Universitatem Catholicam Americae

CONSEQUENDUM

PUBLICE PROPUGNABIT

IOANNES LILJENCRANTS

SACERDOS ARCHIDIOECESIS BALTIMORENSIS

SACRAE THEOLOGIAE LICENTIATUS

DIE VI JUNII A. D. MCMXVIII

Universitas Catholica Americæ
Washingtonii, D. C.

S. Facultas Theologica

1917-1918

No. 11

THESES

I.

Usus spiritismi, sive in experimentis instituendis, sive participando in circulis spiritisticis, semper illicitus est (S. Off. 30. mart. 1898; 24 apr. 1917).

II.

Numquam licet in experimentis spiritistics inservire, etiamsi excludatur omnis conventio cum daemone.

III.

Malitia usus spiritismi non necessario oritur ex conventione cum daemone, sed invenitur etiam in superstitione implicata, nempa quod defunctorum animarum ope veritas praebetur.

IV.

Eo quod scrutatio scrupulosa phenomena spiritistica tamquam naturaliter causata ostendit, periculum interventus diabolici in particularibus casibus non est excludendum.

V.

Usus spiritismi moralitatis publicae necnon individualis subversivus est, eiusque doctrina Religioni et humanae societati summopere nociva.

VI.

Oratio petitionis non est perfectionis impeditiva.

VII.

Merito damnata est propositio: "Qui in oratione utitur imaginibus, figuris, speciebus et propriis conceptibus, non adorat Deum in spiritu et veritate." (Prop. Michaelis de Molinos damn. in Decret. 28. aug., et in Const. "Coelestis Pastor.," 19. nov., 1687. Apud Denz. No. 1238.)

VIII.

Idem dicimus de propositione: "Etiamsi superveniat somnus et dormiatur, nihilominus fit oratio et contemplatio actualis: quia oratio est resignatio, resignatio et oratio idem sunt, et dum resignatio perdurat, perdurat et oratio." (Ut supra, apud Denz. No. 1245.)

IX.

Non est damnandum tamquam spurcum et immundum totum sensibile, quod experimur in vita spirituali.

X.

Salubris et necessaria est cogitatio de praemio, de punitione, de paradiso, de inferno, de morte et de aeternitate, qua spe nostra de beatitudine aeterna sustinetur et roboratur.

XI.

Intentio, qua quis detestatur malum et prosequitur bonum, mere ut coelestem obtineat gloriam, etsi non altissima, tamen recta et Deo placens est (vide Denz. No. 1300).

XII.

Humanitas Christi, utpote res honorata, adoratione latriae perfectae semper colenda est.

XIII.

Quum theologiae scientiae principia tum speculativa, tum practica ita inter se connectantur ut scientiam unam constituant, theologiae moralis tractatio a theologia dogmatica non est separanda, sed praestat iuxta Magistrorum antiquorum morem utramque in unum doctrinae corpus restituere.

XIV.

Norma moralitatis proxima discriminans actiones humanas rectas a pravis est humana natura adaequate

spectata, norma ultima divina essentia; moralitas proinde a Deo independens admitti nequit.

XV.

Effectus malus, quem praeter intentionem ex actione sua agens praevidit, huic imputari nequit, quoties illud impedire non teneatur.

XVI.

Inter actus humanos tres in Novo Testamenta et maxime in scriptis apostolicis recensentur quasi excellentiorem ordinem constituentes, fides, spes et caritas; horum excellentia in eo sita est quod hominem ordinant tum ad Deum finem supernaturalem ultimum, tum ad Christum mediatorem; merito illi actus vocantur theologici.

XVII.

Finis completus societatis civilis non in Statu progressu indefinite promovendo, nec in mera personarum atque iurium securitate procurando, sed in bono externo completo in quantum potest omnium eius membrorum obtinendo, consistit.

XVIII.

Postulat optima civilis societatis ratio, ut populares scholae, quae patent omnibus cuiusque e populo classis pueris, ac publica universim instituta, quae literis severioribusque disciplinis tradendis et educatione iuventutis curandae sunt destinata, Ecclesiae auctoritatis arbitrio subiciantur.

XIX.

Civili potestati circa scholarem institutionem puerorum duplex coöperatio ex officio competit, altera negativa, quae in publica iurium, etiam personalium, tutela consistit, altera positiva, sed externa et subsidiaria, quatenus ad fundandas et sustentandas scholas necessarias socials spontaneitas oneri publico impar succursu indigeat.

XX.

Catholicis viris probari non potest ea iuventutis instituendae ratio, quae sit a catholica fide et ab Ecclesiae potestate seiuncta.

XXI.

Parentes ad suorum liberorum educationem stricto naturali officio tenentur, et munus illos educandi, qua naturale est, exclusivo iure sibi vindicare possunt.

XXII.

Responsio S. Officii 25 iulii 1895 data, circa illicęitatem foetus immaturi in lucem edendi ut mater salvaretur, principiis iustitiae sanis omnino est conformis.

XXIII.

Quum hodie oeconomicae societatis conditiones ita se habent ut pecunia ad productionem alteri tradita, sint virtualiter frugifera, fenus moderatum percipere licitum est.

XXIV.

Duellum sub titulo satisfactionis pro laeso honore susceptum legi naturali repugnat, ideoque semper illicitum est.

XXV.

Lex naturalis ita est promulgata ut eius principia ignorari non possint; de praeceptis autem mediatis potest esse aliqua ignorantia.

XXVI.

Potestas Ecclesiae circa matrimonium leges ferendi canone 1016 novi codicis affirmatur.

XXVII.

Vi canonis 1070 novi codicis nullum est matrimonium contractum a persona baptizata in Ecclesia catholica

vel ad eandem ex haeresi aut schismate conversa cum persona non baptizata.

XXVIII.

Si pars tempore contracti matrimonii tamquam baptizata communiter habeatur aut eius baptismus erat dubius, standum est, ad norman can. 1014, pro valore matrimonii, donec certo probetur alteram partem baptizatam esse, alteram vero non baptizatam. (Can. 1070 § 2.)

XXIX.

Dispensatio super impedimentum disparitatis cultus removet tantum dirimens imperimentum iuris canonici, qua de causa ad validitatem dispensationis requiritur ut prohibitio iure divino naturali orta iam remota sit (can. 1071).

XXX.

Matrimonium contractum cum impedimento iuris naturalis vel divini, etiamsi postea impedimentum cessaverit Ecclesia non sanat in radice, ne a momento quidem cessationis impedimenti (can. 1139 § 2).

XXXI.

Consuetudo novum impedimentum inducens aut impedimentis existentibus contraria reprobatur (can. 1041).

XXXII.

Impotentia antecedens et perpetua, sive ex parte viri sive ex parte mulieris, sive alteri cognita sive non, sive absoluta sive relativa, matrimonium ipso naturae iure dirimit. (can. 1068 § 1.)

XXXIII.

Si impedimentum impotentiae dubium sit, sive dubio iuris sive dubio facti, matrimonium non est impediendum. (can. 1068, § 2.)

XXXIV.

Sterilitas matrimonium nec dirimit nec impedit (can. 1086, § 3.)

XXXV.

Ea tantum spiritualis cognatio, contracta cum baptizato a baptizante ut patrino, matrimonium irritat (can. 1097).

XXXVI.

Pueri qui ad annos discretionis, idest ad rationis usum, pervenerint debent semel in anno, saltem in Paschate, Eucharistiae sacramentum recipere. De sufficienti eorum dispositione ad priman communionem iudicium esto sacerdoti a confessionibus eorumque parentibus aut iis qui loco parentum sunt (can. 859, § 1 et 854 § 1).[1]

XXXVII.

Parocho est officium advigilandi, etiam per examen, si opportunum prudenter iudicaverit, ne pueri ad sacram Synaxim accedant ante adeptum usum rationis vel sine sufficienti dispositione; itemque curandi ut usum rationis assecuti et sufficienter dispositi quamprimum hoc divino cibo reficiantur (can. 854. § 5).

XXXVIII.

Unctiones verbis, ordine et modo in libris ritualibus praescripto, accurate peragantur; in casu autem necessitatis sufficit unica unctio in uno sensu seu rectius in fronte cum praescripto forma breviori, salva obligatione singulas unctiones supplendi, cessante periculo (can. 947, § 1).[2]

XXXIX.

Contra eos qui dicunt matrimonii sacramentum non esse nisi quid contractui accessorium, ab eoque separabile

[1] Vide decret. "Quam singulari," Congr. de Sacram., 8. aug. 1910.
[2] Vide decret. S. Off. 25. apr. 1906.

canonem 1012 novi codicis adducimus, quo ostenditur vera doctrina, nempe quod "Christus Dominus ad sacramenti dignitatem evexit ipsum contractum matrimonialem inter baptizatos."

XL.

Eodem canone reiicitur opinio eorum qui docuerunt matrimonium inter baptizatos absque sacramento valide contrahi posse.

XLI.

Doctrina spiritistarum de vita futura, utpote continua cum hac vita praesenti ac simul prorsus avulsa ab omni relatione cognitionis intimae ad Deum, non solum Christianae religionis dogmatibus infensissime adversatur, sed etiam philosophice se probat minime admissu dignam.

XLII.

Conceptus Redemptionis, quem e medio tollere conantur spiritistae, non est doctrina christiana, sed falsissima notio eius loco suffecta.

XLIII.

Idem dicimus de statu purgativo a spiritistis concepto.

XLIV.

Notio peccati a spiritistis habita repugnat conscientiae, historiae, atque morali hominum profectui promovendo.

XLV.

Animam humanam neque a substantia divina emanare, neque e materiae potentiis longa evolutione educi, neque vi creatrice parentibus generantibus communicata oriri, sed ex Deo immediate produci, prout actio causarum secundarium id postulat, dicimus.

XLVI.

The alleged scientific evidence of spiritistic phenomena cannot rightly be substituted for the criteria of divine revelation.

XLVII.

Spiritism, far from being an improvement on Christianity, is burdened with several defects fundamentally subversive of true religion.

XLVIII.

The attempt to explain the wonderful works of Christ as due to the exercise of spiritistic mediumship, must be set down as a failure.

XLIX.

It is likewise an error to ascribe Christ's marvellous cures to hypnotic influence or to identify them with any other form of modern mind cures.

L.

The belief of the primitive Church in the bodily resurrection of Jesus cannot adequately be explained on the basis of merely subjective impressions.

LI.

The depleted conditions of the treasury in Sweden after the war of liberation under Gustaf Vasa and the heavy debt to Lübeck strongly influenced the King to break with the Church and to introduce Protestantism as a means of obtaining ecclesiastical property.

LII.

The early activities of the protestant reformers in Sweden was so strongly resented by the people that their propaganda was made possible only under the protection of the king.

LIII.

The spread of the protestant reformation in Sweden was in large measure due to the weakness of the bishops who with one exception failed to offer any decided opposition to the violence of the king.

LIV.

The strong opposition to the Catholic Church and the peculiar religious intolerance which is still to be found in Sweden has its roots in the political conditions arising out of the Wars of Religion.

LV.

The spread of unbelief and materialism in Sweden is due in large measure to the fact that Lutheranism fails to satisfy the religious needs of the Swedish people.

LVI.

The story of the deluge in Genesis VI-VIII may be interpreted in the sense that the deluge, though real, did not extend to all parts of the earth.

LVII.

The transcendent superiority of the religion of Israel over those of Babylonia, Egypt, and other contemporary nations goes far to vindicate its claim to be of divine origin.

LVIII.

The divine character of the Messiah, while generally overlooked by the Jews, finds expression in several of the Old Testament prophecies.

LIX.

The Synoptic Gospels bear unmistakable evidence that the teaching of Jesus in regard to His Messiahship also implied that He was truly Divine.

LX.

The story of St. Paul's conversion as recorded in the Acts and referred to in his epistles merits acceptance as an historical fact.

Vidit Sacra Facultas:

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VITA.

Baron Johan Liljencrants was born in Nyköping in Sweden in 1885. Having completed college course in Stockholm, he entered the Royal Svea Guards, graduated from the Royal War School of Karlberg, and received commission as second lieutenant in 1906. He was made Officer d'Académie in 1908. In 1910 he came to the United States of America, where he was received in the Catholic Church, and in 1913 he registered as a postgraduate student at Princeton University. In the same year he received the degree of Master of Arts. After a year's ecclesiastical training in Saint Mary's Seminary in Baltimore, he registered for postgraduate studies in Sacred Sciences at the Catholic University of America, following the courses of Dr. John W. Melody, and later of Dr. John A. Ryan in Moral Theology, Monsignor Filippo Bernardini in Canon Law, Dr. Daniel J. Kennedy, O. P., in Sacremental Theology, and Dr. Sigourney W. Fay in Liturgy. He was ordained to the Priesthood by His Eminence Cardinal Gibbons in 1915.

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Spiritism and Religion, A Moral
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